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A
NARRATIVE
OF
POLITICAL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS
OF
BRITISH INDIA,
UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE
MARQUESS OF HASTINGS.
1813 to 1818.

BY HENRY T. PRINSEP,
OF THE HON. EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CIVIL SERVICE, BENGAL.

*"Res poscere videtur—ut non modò casus eventusque rerum, qui plerique fortuiti sunt, sed ratio
etiam causæque noscantur."*—TACITUS.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

1820.

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PREFACE

THE work, now presented to the public, pretends to no merit, beyond that of a faithful relation of the very important changes and transactions, which have occurred in India between 1814 and 1819. The labour of the narrator has been chiefly ~~occupied in~~ compilation and extraction from the voluminous records of the Supreme-Government, which contain the most minute details of every political or military occurrence in every quarter of India. To all these he had free access; and, thus, the only qualities requisite for the undertaking, were those of diligence in research, and discrimination in the use or rejection of the materials before him. If he shall have succeeded in selecting so much, as may render the politics of India, during the period under review, intelligible to those, who may approach the subject ~~with~~ motives of curiosity or utility,—if readers of this class shall retire from the perusal, tolerably satisfied with the insight it has given them into the affairs of the period, and enabled to form a fair judgment upon the propriety of the measures adopted, his grand and primary object will have been attained. At the same time, he is not ignorant, that, in skilful

hands, the train of events, of which a faithful and plain relation is here ~~submitted~~ might have been wrought into a form, that would have awakened a lively interest in the general, as well as the curious or interested reader. The facts recorded are ~~both singular and important, the only circumstances, that can give a legitimate attraction to a work of the historical class. The Indian habits and occupations, as well as the example of his predecessors, prevent the narrator~~ from anticipating much success, except with those of his readers, whose attention may be excited by the recollection of Indian scenes, wherein they have themselves borne a part, or by the tie of kindred with the present actors upon that wide field for British energy.

In any other department of writing, the narrator would probably have followed the bent of his inclination, and have ventured his first literary work without the appendage of a name, which can give no title to favourable notice. But the public has a right to demand, that every thing, pretending to the character of history, should bear that certificate at least; and, in some cases, a notice of the sources of information, and of the circumstances which may have given a peculiar command of them, or a pretension to more ~~than~~ usual authenticity. He feels himself compelled by this consideration, in addition to his name, to state briefly, that, on the first occasion of the Governor-General's leaving the presidency in the year 1814, to make the tour of the western provinces, he had the good fortune to be selected as one of the suite of the Marquess of Hastings, then Earl of Moira, and was, during the tour, attached to the secretariat. On the occasion of his Lordship's second progress to the

westward, that is to say, when he personally took the field in 1817, he had the honour of again filling the same capacity as before, and continued to form part of the suite throughout the campaign, and until his Lordship's return to the presidency.

Notwithstanding the extensive means of observation, which this employment opened to him, it never would have occurred to the narrator himself, that his time could be employed with advantage in the preparation of any thing for the press. It is not the fault of the service to which he belongs, causelessly to obtrude itself on the public in print. Its manifold duties generally give full employment to all, who might be supposed to possess the capability; and the office, to which he happened to be attached, was by no means one of the least laborious.

However, when the rise of the Mahrattas in arms, to oppose the execution of the Governor-General's plans for the suppression of the Pindarees, brought on a crisis of no common interest, it became a matter of evident importance, that the public curiosity should be satisfied in respect to the causes that had produced the juncture; and that the conduct of the Indian authorities, as well in the previous intercourse with the native powers, as in the efforts to avert the mischiefs, which then assumed a threatening aspect, should be secured from the possibility of misrepresentation, by a candid and early exposé of all their operations. In the compilation of such a memoir, if executed with but a moderate portion of skill, there seemed to be so much of public utility, as, in the narrator's circumstances, would warrant his regarding it as a point of public duty to make the attempt. Yet, though soon convinced that such a work was

most desirable, it was some months before he could bring himself finally to resolve on commencing it. His employment in India, except on the two occasions abovementioned, had been confined exclusively to the internal branches of administration; and he felt the disadvantage, under which he must undertake a task that, from its nature, required a general survey of the political relations of the British dominion in the East. But, as no one of established political reputation appeared inclined to step forward on the occasion, and there was reason to fear, that, unless he took it up, an authentic account of the period might long be a desideratum, he was induced to consult on the subject with the Secretary to the Governor-General, whose idea of the importance of the matter appearing to correspond entirely with his own, he at length made the tender of his services, provided the assent of the Governor-General could be obtained, and there should be no objection to his unlimited use of the records of Government. The proposition was received by Mr. Adam with his characteristic liberality, and met with his very decided encouragement. Through him the narrator obtained the Governor-General's permission to avail himself of the records of the Secretary's office, without which, as all the most important articles of information are ~~usually~~ recorded while matters are still in train,* it would have been impossible to execute the work, except in the most imperfect manner.

Such were the circumstances, under which the collection of materials was begun in February, 1818, when the campaign was drawing fast to a close. It has taken just a year to bring

it to a conclusion. To those acquainted with the nature of the records of the Indian Government, this will not be thought an immoderate time, when it is recollected, that it was necessary carefully to peruse and note the entire proceedings of the political department for upwards of four years, before the narrative itself could be commenced. Much of the narrator's attention was besides devoted to other objects, being all the while in active employment. Thus, however desirous he may have been, that the work should appear while the curiosity of the public was yet at its height, he has found it impossible to present it at an earlier moment. As it is, in his own judgment, too much has been sacrificed to the desire of expedition.

It is necessary to premise, that the design has been, to trace the political transactions of India from the origin of the hostile spirit amongst the Mahratta powers to the final crisis of the season of 1817-18; to relate the operations of that season, and explain, as far as may be possible, the settlement resulting therefrom. Else it might create some surprise, that, while events of comparatively minor interest are dwelt upon with a minuteness, which may, perhaps, be found tedious, the particulars of the Goorkha war are passed over with a mere cursory notice. But these were in a measure foreign to the crisis in question; and, as the time had gone by, when they could be considered to have a peculiar claim to interest, it was thought best to limit the mention of that war to its influence upon the conduct of other powers, and only so far to allude to the operations of it, as might be necessary to explain that influence.

Such as it is, the work is now given to the public, with the full confidence, that it will not be regarded as a laboured exculpation of any specific scheme of policy. He can affirm, that he has not, in a single instance, designedly given a colouring to a fact, in order to make it suit the peculiar views of any class of statesmen : but he does acknowledge with some pride, that the present head of the Indian Government has claims to his personal attachment, which may have given a bias to his political views and reasonings ; and further, that the habit of daily contemplating the development of his particular plans, from the moment of their conception, until they have been crowned with the predicted success, has produced a warmth of admiration, that may have warped his judgment upon the character of the system pursued. Yet has it been his exclusive aim throughout, to give a plain and candid statement of his own impressions on the events recorded : indeed, to have done otherwise would have been consistent, neither with the liberal confidence reposed in him by the Marquess of Hastings, nor with the spirit, in which he himself undertook the task.

The narrator is, at the same time, proud to own, that his situation has given him the means of verifying several points of material import, by personal inquiry at the fountain head, and that his impressions, in respect to the political measures adopted, have been submitted to the test of severe examinations, which have either confirmed their accuracy, or pointed to the means, by which they could be thoroughly sifted. Hence has resulted a further confidence, both of the authenticity of the facts detailed, and of the correctness of his own views and opinions.

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The narrator does not feel himself at liberty, for the present, to obtrude his personal acknowledgments: it will suffice to declare, that he has deeply felt his obligation to the superior judgment, which has enabled him to discover errors and inaccuracies, that might have escaped his own observation; and shall consider whatever value may hereafter be thought to attach to the performance, as an authentic continuation of the political history of India through the period in question, to be ~~ascribable~~ ascribable to the aid he has received in its revision, ~~than~~ to any pains of his own in the compilation.

Calcutta, February, 1819.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS work was transmitted piecemeal for publication ; and its appearance has been retarded, partly by the negligence of the hands to which the manuscript was confided, and partly by some unforeseen difficulties, which it is impossible, and perhaps immaterial, to explain. For any inaccuracies of the type, or discrepancy in the spelling of Indian words and names in the map and text, the Editor's professional avocations and total ignorance of Eastern orthography must plead in excuse.—A short glossary, and a catalogue of the native princes and persons of distinction, that figure in the narrative, is added for the convenience of the untravelled European reader.

C. R. P.

Temple, April, 1830.

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GLOSSARY.

- Būneea, a merchant, or dealer.—*Sansc.*
 Chelā, an élève, or ward.—*Sansc.*
 Chitnavees, a ~~secretary~~ secretary.—*Pers.*
 Chout, black mail; redemption from tribute; the fourth part of any thing.—*Sansc.*
 Choultry, an inn, or caravansera.—*Hind.*
 Cosf, a measure of length; about two miles.—*Pers.*
 Dāk, post for letters or travellers.—*Pers.*
 Dhūrna, sitting in, a mode of importunate demand.—*Sansc.*
 Dūrbār, the court of a prince.—*Pers.*
 Dūrrā, a horde or band of freebooters.—*Hind.*
 Fūrnāvēes, a secretary.—*Pers.*
 Gooroo, a family priest.—*Sansc.*
 Gūddece, the cushion or seat of state.—*Hind.*
 Hūrkāra, a courier.—*Pers.*
 Jāgeer, a fief.—*Pers.*
 Jūngūl, forest.—*Sansc. and Pers.*
 Killādār, a governor.—*Arab.*
 Khutree, the military caste.—*Hind.*
 Khilāt, a dress of honour.—*Pers. and Sansc.*
 Kūtra, a walled town.
 Lōoteea, a common plunderer.—*Sansc.*
 Lūhbur, a foray or marauding party.—*Sansc.*
 Moōnshee, a linguist, or interpreter.—*Arab.*
 Mūsnūd, the cushion or seat of state.—*Arab.*
 Mōolkgērēe, conquest.—*Arab.*
 Nullā, a ~~torrent~~ torrent bed.—*Sansc.*
 Petta, a town: the suburb of a fort.—*Sansc.*
 Raj, a kingdom, or royal residence.—*Sansc.*
 Rēsāla, a body of horse resembling a pulk of Cossacks.—*Sansc.*

- Sirdār, a chief, or superior officer.—*Pers.*
 Sēbundee, the militia, or gens d'armes.—*Pers.*
 Sīpāhee, or Sepoy, a foot soldier.—*Pers.*
 Sōoba, a province, or government.—*Arab.*
 Srad'h, a funeral ceremonial.—*Sansc.*
 Sūnnūd, a deed of grant, or warrant.—*Sansc.*
 Sūrunjāmee, military service tenure.—*Pers.*
 Syce, a groom, or horse-keeper.—~~Sansc.~~ *Arab.*
 Vakeel, an envoy, or negotiator.—*Arab.*

TITLES.

Hindoo.

- Pers.* { Pēshwā, minister.
 { Pēshkar, deputy.
Sansc. Rājū, }
Hind. Rānā, } ruling prince.
Hind. Nānā, }
Sansc. Rāj-Rānā, regent, or viceroy.
Hind. Sēna-puttee, general; title of the Raja of Berar.
Hind. Sēna-Khas-Khel, commander of the faithful band.
Sansc. { Bhāo, } prince.
 { Rāo, }
Sansc. Rām, a title of nobility.
Sansc. Thakoor, a feudal lord.
 Bāec, }
 Bā, } dowager princess.

Moosulman.

- Nizam, title of the Nuwab of Hyderabad originally; viceroy of the Dukhun under the Moghuls.
Arab. Nuwab, a governor; a ruling prince.
Arab. Vizier, a minister of state.
Pers. Dēwan, an administrator, or minister.
Pers. Khān, a lord; a title of nobility.
Turk. Bēgūm, a ~~daughter~~ princess.
~~*Arab.* Sāhib, lord, an appellation of rank.~~

TRIBES OF HINDOOS.

Bheels, a tribe on the borders of Rajpootana.

Jāts, a north-western tribe.

Goands, a north-western tribe, inhabiting the Mohadeo range.

Grasseas, a tribe inhabiting the Sātpoora range.

Soandees, a tribe between Oojeen and Rampoor.

Names of the principal Native Princes mentioned in the Narrative, with their respective seats of government, and the names of the British Residents.

Moosulman Princes.	Capital.	British Residents.
Nizam. —————	Hyderabad.	Mr. H. Russell.
Nuwab Vizier of Oude,—Ghazee } Oodeen Hyder.	Lucknāo.	—————
Nuwab Viziers of Bhopāl. 1. Mahommed. 2. Nuzur Mahommed.	Bhopāl.	—————
<i>Mahrattas.</i>		
Hindoo Princes.		
Raja of Suttara—Noor Nerayun.	Suttara.	Captain Grant, assistant.
Pêshwa—Bajee Rāo.	Poona.	Mr. Elphinstone.
Gykwār. Anund Rao, nominal. Futteh Singh, actual.	Brodera.	—————
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Sindheea—Maha Raja Doulut Rāo } Sindheea.	Gwalior.	{ Mr. Strachey. { Captain Close.
Holkar—Maha Raja Mulhar Rao } Holkar.	Indore.	Major Agnew, assistant.
Nana of Sāgur. Govind Rao, legitimate. Bunaceek Rao, intrusive.	Sāgur.	—————

Hindoo Princes.

Rajpoots.

Capital.

British Residents.

Rana of Oodeepoor. ———

Oodeepoor.

Captain Tod, assistant.

Raja of Jypoor—Purtab Singh.

Jynagurh. ———

Raja of Joudhpoor—Man Singh.

Joudhpoor. ———

Raja of Kota—Kishwur Singh.

Kota. ———

Raj-Rana—Zalim Singh.

Nipālese.

Goorkha Raja. ———

Katmāndhoo. Mr. E. Gardner.

DIRECTIONS FOR ARRANGING THE PLATES, &c.

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NARRATIVE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY MATTER.

State of India on Lord Moira's Arrival—Relations of the British with Native Powers—Alliances, subsidiary, protective—disposition towards British—of States subject to their Influence—Nizam—Peshwa—other subsidiary Allies—of protected Allies—Independent Powers—Holkar—Sindhia—Nature of their power and administration since 1805—military force—how employed—Disposition towards British—Bhoosla—disposition—General view—Military adventurers not checked or suppressed—Pindarees in 1814—their history—settlement on Nerbudda—mode of warfare—successes—Rise of Kureem Khan—his Power in 1806—and Fall—Cheetoo—Dost Mahommed—Kureem's redemption—second rise—designs, and fall—Durras in 1814—Patans—their power—locality—Relations with Mahrattas and Rajpoots—Ameer Khan—his Force in 1814.

THE Earl of Moira, since created Marquess of Hastings, arrived in India, and assumed the government-general, about the end of the year 1813. The relations of the British ~~dominion~~ with the several native powers, as adjusted during the second administration of Lord Cornwallis and that of Sir George Barlow, had continued up to this period with little variation. The attention of Lord Minto, the retiring governor-general, had been chiefly occupied, at first in preparing the states on our western frontier, to resist the passage of the French, who were then thought to meditate an expedition over-land; afterwards, in composing the discontents of the Madras army; and latterly, in wresting from the dominion of France, and the continental powers under her influence, their yet remaining insular pos-

sessions in the Indian ocean and in Polynesia. The only political operations of the eight years in question, which require notice, as anywise affecting the general system of our political relations in India, are, first, the reception of the Seikh chieftains under protection in 1809, by which measure, the British influence was extended to the Sutlej, and the rising power and ambition of Runjeet Singh materially curbed: secondly, a similar extension upon the Bundelkhund frontier, by the admission of the Rajas of Duttea and Tearee, and the Nana of Jhansee to our alliance, and by the measures adopted to curb and punish the Rewa principality, which, lying south-west of Benares, and east of Bundelkhund, had, in 1812, invited and facilitated the march of a body of marauders from the banks of the Nerbudda into the rich provinces of Mirzapoor and South Behar. In other respects, no alteration whatever had taken place in our political relations. The measures adopted for opposing the designs of Ameer Khan, which were supposed to be directed even to the subversion of the Nâgpoor government, and the establishment of a Moosulman power on its ruins, appeared, at one time, on the point of bringing about a subsidiary alliance with the Bhoosla Raja; but, for reasons, ~~which need not be stated here~~, this connexion never took place; and ~~the attempts~~ subsequently made to accomplish it in Lord Minto's time, were frustrated by the personal jealousy and secret hostility of the Raja.

At the period of Lord Hastings's arrival, the native powers may be classed under four heads. First, those with whom the British nation had formed subsidiary alliances. Secondly, those enjoying its protection without any subsidiary contract, and consisting, for the most part, of small principalities, scarcely meriting the name of substantive powers. Thirdly, acknowledged princes, with whom the British government was at peace, and connected by the mutual obligation of treaties, but

with whom it had no further intercourse or influence, except in so far as the residence of a British representative at the court was sometimes a matter of stipulation. Fourthly, independent chieftains and associations, who had never been acknowledged as substantive states, and to whom the British nation was bound by no engagements whatever. It may be useful, by way of introduction to the narrative of the late political and military operations in India, to give a brief sketch of the actual position of these respective classes, and of their disposition towards the British government at the commencement of the year 1814.

The states connected with the British power by subsidiary alliances were, the Nizam at Hyderabad, the Pêshwa at Poona, the Gykwar in Guzerat, and the Rajas of Mysore and Travancore. The Nuwab of Oude ought, perhaps, in strictness to be added to these; but the cessions, exacted of him by Lord Wellesley in 1801, had so circumscribed his territories, and contracted his means, that, although independent in the management of his remaining territories, and consequently far superior to the pageant courts of Dehlee, Moorshedabad, and Arcot, he is in too great dependence on the British government, to be regarded as one of the political states of India.

All the subsidiary alliances had been formed upon the same principles. The British nation had stipulated to furnish a specific force for the protection of the country, and for the maintenance of the sovereign's legitimate authority. This force was not to be employed in the duties of civil administration, nor in the collection of the revenues; and the British government had generally agreed not to interfere in such matters. A subsidy, equivalent to the ~~expense~~ expense of the force, was furnished by the state thus protected, either in periodical money payments, or by territorial cession, more frequently the latter; a certain native contingent was also maintained, in

readiness to act with the subsidiary force, for the efficiency of which the subsidizing state was answerable. But the most material provision of these treaties was, that the states accepting them engaged to discontinue all political negotiation with the other powers of India, except in concert with the British government, and to submit all claims and disputes with others to its arbitration and final adjudication.

The engagements for the simple protection of chieftainships and principalities had the same controlling character, in respect to the external relations of the parties protected, with other native powers; nor did they differ materially in substance from the subsidiary treaties, except inasmuch as there was seldom any consideration exacted for the protection to be afforded, and never any obligation on the British government to maintain a specific force for the purpose. The principal members of this class were—the Rajas of Bhurtpoor and Macherree, with some other chieftains settled in the neighbourhood of Agra and Dehlee—the Bundela Chiefs, whose possessions skirted the frontier of Bundelkhund—and, latterly, the Seikhs, with several others in different parts of India. The two Rajpoot states of Jypoor and Joudhpoor had been included in this system by Lord Wellesley; but, in the settlement of 1805-6, they were left without the pale of our relations, from an apprehension that these were already too much extended. The Raja of Jypoor was considered, by his conduct in the war with Holkar, to have forfeited all claim to our farther protection; while the Raja of Joudhpoor had refused to ratify the treaty concluded with Lord Lake by his representative; so that no impediment arose out of any existing engagements with either state, to counteract the desire^{*} of the British government to withdraw from their connexion.

When mention is made of the extent of the British influence, in the estimate of the national power and resources in

~~India, it is in allusion to the~~ states and principalities, whose relation with us is of one or other of the above two descriptions. These must by no means be overlooked in such an estimate; for it is one most striking feature of the connexion, indeed an express stipulation, that, in case of exigency, the whole resources of the states in alliance shall be at the command and under the direction of the British government. It must ~~not~~, however, be supposed that, of the powers thus subject to our influence, all were equally contented with their lot, or ready to afford the aid of their resources with equal zeal and alacrity. In proportion as the connexion with us had originated in motives of ambition, or interest, or ~~necessity~~, or had resulted from a conviction of inability, by other means, to resist a more than transitory danger, with which their very existence was threatened from other quarters, in the same proportion were the princes, with whom these alliances subsisted, either restless and discontented at the restraints imposed on their schemes of further aggrandizement, or well satisfied with the undisturbed enjoyment of what they felt conscious they owed the possession of entirely to such alliance.

Of the subsidizing states, the Nizam was our most useful ally, and had perhaps the best reason to be satisfied with ~~this~~ ~~confederacy~~. He had formed the connexion after receiving a severe defeat from the Pêshwa, which must have produced a conviction of the inadequacy of his own means of defence, and while the power of Tippoo was a subject of constant apprehension to him. The overthrow of that prince, and the consequent augmentation of the power and influence of the British government, in some degree removed the imminency of the danger; but these events, and the transactions connected with them, naturally led to a closer intercourse between the two states, and accustomed the Nizam habitually to rely on the British government; while the annual incursions of the Pin-

darees served to keep alive the ~~cause of his weakness~~. ~~He had~~ ~~besides~~ received from us in Berar, as the fruit of the alliance, an accession of territory yielding a revenue of 60 lack R'. But gratitude is seldom a motive for the good faith of princes; our ground of confidence was the knowledge, that since forming the treaty, by which we undertook ~~his~~ protection, ~~the Nizam~~ ~~had~~ entirely neglected ~~his~~ private means, leaving ~~his~~ whole resources at our disposal, and allowing ~~even his~~ military establishment to be modelled to our will, and placed under British officers. The successor of Nizam Alee Khan was, indeed, of a weak and indolent character, and the government was in the hands of a ministry*, which, but for the constant protection of the British resident, could not have withstood the intrigues of the disaffected and designing, who abounded both in the court and in the seraglio. ~~The~~ secret of the Nizam's attachment and devotion to our interests is not difficult to be unravelled; the prince himself was wrapped up in pageantry and sensual pleasure; and the minister had become a creature of our own, insomuch that through him the resources and means of the state took whatever direction was pointed out by the British representative at this court. Not that the Nizam's government had thus degenerated through any design or agency of our

* The nominal minister was a relation and favourite of the Nuwab's, named Moneer-ood-d'oullah, a weak man and unacquainted with business; the real minister was a Hindoo, Raja Chundoo Lal, who, under the title of Naezeb (deputy), conducted the whole government. The introduction of this man was the result of a compromise with the Nizam; whose claim to the independent choice of his minister was admitted on the part of the British government, on condition, that the Hindoo should be made deputy, and the principal never interfere with his administration. The Nizam, for some time after this arrangement, had shown considerable ill humour, and ultimately shut himself up in his palace, and refrained altogether from meddling with public affairs. His conduct sometimes betrayed imbecility and aberration of mind, and sometimes a degree of acuteness and intelligence not incompatible with such a state of intellect.

own; on the contrary, we had more reason to deplore, than to rejoice, at this decline of its executive power, which was frequently a source of great inconvenience to us, and was continually calling in the strong arm of British authority to enforce its orders and uphold its weakness; and this in a manner, which no delicacy could disguise altogether.

The conduct of the Pêshwa had been the exact reverse of that of the Nizam: he had availed himself with the utmost art of his connexion with the British nation to recover and improve his own resources; and, instead of trusting wholly to our aid, evinced at all times the greatest jealousy of any attempt, on the part of the resident at his court, to cement a closer union, and, by detaching him from other engagements, to confirm his dependence on the support of the British government. Indeed, when the subsidiary alliance was first formed by Bajee Rao, the value of his attachment was correctly appreciated by the Marquess Wellesley. With that depth of observation, for which his lordship was so justly celebrated, he thus prophetically warned the Honourable Court of Directors of the disposition they must expect to find in their new ally. "It was evident," Lord Wellesley wrote in April, 1804, "that the Pêshwa had only entered into the defensive alliance with the British Government, because his highness was convinced he had no other way of recovering any part of his just authority, or of maintaining tranquillity in his empire. *The state of his highness's affairs taking a favourable turn, his highness, supported by the sentiments of the different branches of the Mahratta empire, would be desirous of annulling the engagements he had made with the British Government.*" The events of the last few years afford the best development of Bajee Rao's actual disposition towards us, after the lapse of ten years had enabled him to derive all the benefit he could reap from our alliance, ~~towards~~ the consolidation of his own power, and to court in

security the general sentiment of the Mahratta nation, which had been thus designated as the foundation of some future rupture of this unnatural association^{*}

At the courts of the three remaining powers, with whom subsidiary alliances had been formed, the ascendancy of the British influence was so firmly fixed, that an opposite interest could scarcely be said to exist in them. The conviction at these courts of the greatness of our power, and of the utter hopelessness of any attempt to thwart our plans, caused them to give at once into the policy of sparing no effort to secure our favour, on which rested all their hopes of prosperity. With the Gykwar, the ties were much closer drawn than with the Nizam or Pêshwa; the right of the British Government to interfere with certain qualifications in the internal administration of the country being matter of stipulation by treaty with the state*. The Mysore Raja is a prince of our own creation, and the Travancore Raja a minor: this last state, however, was never entitled to much consideration in the scale of native powers, and for some time was altogether governed by Colonel Monro the resident, on whom the office of prime minister was conferred, with the title of Dewan.

The disposition of the second class, viz. of protected states,

* The connexion with the Gykwar was anomalous. Soon after the subsidiary alliance, the utter imbecility of Anund Rao, and the confusion introduced into his affairs by Arabs and bankers, who had been security for his debts, obliged the leading men of the state to solicit the Bombay government to take that security on itself, and to give its support to Seeta-ram, son of Raojee Appajee, as Dewan with full powers, in the hope of thus restoring order and liquidating the debts. This arrangement failing from Seeta-ram's incapacity, he was deprived of power, and the administration placed in the hands of a commission, whereof the British resident was a member. Afterwards Anund Rao's brother, Futteh Singh Gykwar, was brought forward and vested with the sole direction of affairs, under the resident's advice. This arrangement continued till Futteh Singh's death in 1818, Anund Rao Gykwar living as a cypher in his own palace, where he was treated with every personal attention; but his constitutional imbecility continued.

varied of course, in a similar manner to that of those, whose connexion was of a subsidiary character. The Raja of Bhurt-poor's object, in accepting protection in 1805-6 from a power, whose whole force he conceived he had recently baffled, was to recover, without other equivalent than the nominal sacrifice of unrestrained latitude of political action, the fortress of Deeg, and the greater part of his territory, then in our hands. He has ever since viewed us with the most arrogant haughtiness, not exempt from suspicion, distrust, and fear. His whole conduct has shown him to be the most hostile in heart and disposition of all the princes of India. Feeling that his former success had made him the rallying point of disaffection from all quarters, he seemed evidently to court that dangerous pre-eminence, and to assume the attitude of one, that rather sought than avoided another occasion of trying his fortune against us: although in fact, he secretly dreaded our power in the greatest degree. His policy was displayed in openly thwarting and irritating us to the full extent of our forbearance; but conceding immediately, when he found he could safely risk no further provocation.

The other protected chiefs in that direction were generally well contented, ~~with the single exception of the~~ Macherree Raja, ~~who~~ finding himself in the vicinity of the Jypoor state, which was distracted by internal faction and external attack, had attempted to avail himself of the opportunity of aggrandizing his own territory, at the expense of a helpless neighbour, and took occasion to seize upon some of his forts and villages. Our government, ~~however, had~~ interfered, and obliged the invader to make restitution; and he had been further mulcted for delaying instant obedience to the order for their evacuation.

The eastern Seikhs, whom the terror of the British name alone had saved from the arms of Runjeet Singh, and the Bundêlas, who felt indebted to it for a similar protection from Sind-

heea's officers, and from the marauders of the Nerbudda, were in every respect contented with the connexion, and cvinced on all occasions, the most zealous attachment and obedience. But the Raja of Rewa, though he had, in the first instance, voluntarily embraced the alliance, very soon afterwards had repented of the engagement, and was evidently anxious to take the first opportunity of shaking it off. It would have been unreasonable to have expected, that the disposition of such various allies should be universally favourable, without reference to the different circumstances, attending the contraction of the alliance, or to the capricious views, which the native princes are so apt to entertain, of what is best for their present interest. In the widely extended sphere of our alliances, it was natural, that several of the confederates should be disaffected, many lukewarm, and few zealous for the maintenance of the system of general regulation we had introduced. The greatest forbearance towards all these different sentiments, and extreme moderation and consistency in our dealings, were essential to our success in the management of the stupendous machine, which we had organized: particularly with a view to the possibility of still further extension of the system at some future period.

The states and powers of the third class, that is to say, those not directly under our influence, and with whom our connexion was that of mutual amity alone, were, the Sindheea, the Bhoosla, and the Holkar families. British residents were stationed at the two former courts; but none had ever resided at the Holkar Durbar. Indeed, since the derangement of Juswunt Rao's intellect, and more especially since his death, which occurred in 1811, the power, which his personal ability had erected and maintained, was crumbling fast to pieces; while Ameer Khan, Mahommed Shah Khan, and other of his retainers, were raising themselves to consequence and independence on the ruins of the fortunes of his family. Juswunt Rao's son and successor,

Mulhar Rao, was a minor; and the intrigues of the women, superadded to the frequent mutiny of the troops for pay, and the gradual desertion of the different commanders to seek their fortune in a life of predatory adventure, were the only occurrences to be found in the reports of the news-writers at this court.

Sindhucca, since the peace concluded with him in 1805, had steadily pursued the object of breaking the force and reducing the garrisons of the chiefs between the Chumbul and the Nerbudda, so as to establish and consolidate his own power in that quarter. A person little conversant in the affairs of India, and observing on the map the uniform colouring of a given space, described as forming the dominions of a Mahratta chief, would be led to suppose, that his authority was peaceably established over the whole of that space, in like manner as the British authority is established within the districts marked as its immediate possessions. This, however, is quite inconsistent with the character of Mahratta conquest. Instead of commencing with the removal of the existing government, and the general assumption of the whole authority to himself, a Mahratta chieftain begins, by appearing at the season of harvest, and demanding a consideration for his forbearance in withholding the mischief he has it in his power to inflict. The visit is annually repeated, and the demand proportionally enhanced. Whatever is thus exacted is called the *Chout*, and the process of exaction a *Moolkgeeree* (country-taking) expedition. When the same chieftain has been in the habit of continuing his annual exactions from a certain district for a number of successive years, he considers the practice of making them as a matter of right and property, and resents the interference of a stranger as an invasion of his property. In process of time, perhaps, he has a cantonment, or reduces a fort and establishes himself in the neighbourhood; his exactions swell to the full amount of the revenue; and, in the end, the

authorities, that may heretofore have retained the local administration by paying these exactions, will either be superseded and reduced to mere cyphers, or be subdued and expelled by open force. The interval between the occurrence of this last act, and submission to the first exaction, will have been short or long, according as the opportunity may have been favourable for encroachment, or as the party, upon whom it has been attempted, happened to possess the sagacity to perceive, and the means to resist, the obvious tendency of such a system.

At the epoch of the settlement with Sindheea and Holkar in 1805, when the British Government engaged not to interfere with the dependencies of those chieftains lying within certain limits; that is to say, in Malwa, Mewar, and Marwar (including Kota, Joudhpoor, and Oodecpoor); the dominions of both families exhibited every variety of the intermediate state above described. The towns and villages, of which they had complete occupation, were comparatively few, and were moreover scattered about in different directions, disconnected and intermingled one with another: except in these few, the army of either chief was the whole machinery of his government, and was at all times kept in motion for the purpose of enforcing contributions from reluctant tributaries, who regularly resisted, and often successfully. Under these circumstances, the effect of the peace concluded with the British was, merely to restrict the theatre of such warfare to their own assumed dominions, and to allow the employment of the whole military power of each with greater activity against his respective dependents and nominal subjects. Thus, the confusion in that quarter of India, to which their operations were thenceforth confined, was necessarily increased, rather than diminished, by the peace; and one cannot wonder at the rapid rise of predatory hordes to power and consequence, under favour of such a state of affairs. Lord Wellesley's plan for the suppression of this system was, to

extend his subsidiary alliances, which he expected would have the effect of inducing the native princes to discard their military establishments, as an useless expenditure and needless incumbrance. This plan was, however, abandoned by Sir George Barlow, so far as Sindheca and Holkar were concerned; indeed, their governments were so essentially military, that it could scarcely have succeeded with them under any circumstances, unless, in progress of time, they should assume a more regular form.

In 1805, and for some years after, Dowlut Rao Sindheca apparently took but little personal interest in the administration of his affairs. Until 1809, his government was, indeed, one of continual shifts and momentary expedients, and his durbar a mere arena for the factions of a selfish aristocracy, whereon to bring to issue their struggles for wealth and pre-eminence. The natural death of ~~Ambajee~~ Inglia, the too powerful Sooba of Gwalior, and the violent one of Surjee Rao, the father-in-law of Sindheca, both which occurred in 1809, enabled this prince to introduce a ministry more dependent on himself. Since that year, the control of affairs had been in the hands of a banker of the name of Gokul-paruk, recommended to office by his financial ability, and held in check by the counteracting influence and rivalry of personal favourites. By skilfully managing this balance, Dowlut Rao had asserted and exercised a more direct personal control over the affairs of his principality, during the latter period.

Up to 1810, Sindheca generally was in motion the whole of the favourable season, with the greater part of his army, employed either in punishing his own refractory officers, or in *Moolkgeeree* expeditions in Malwa, Bhopâl, or Rajpootana. Oojein was his nominal capital; but, after the forcible resumption of the ~~Soobadaree~~ of Gwalior from the family of his deceased vassal Ambajee, he pitched his camp a short distance

to the south-west of that city and fortress; and, as his court has never been moved from the spot, except for occasional pilgrimages, a second city has arisen on the site of his encampment, rivalling the old one in population at least, if not in the appearance and structure of its edifices.

The great body of his troops have continued to be distributed over the surface of the country, enforcing tribute in the usual way, and taking every opportunity, by the capture of fortresses, and the seizure or expulsion of the petty Rajas and Chieftains in actual possession, to consolidate his power, and acquire a firmer hold of what had hitherto been more nominally than really under his dominion. The principal and most efficient of Sindheea's commanders employed on this service was Colonel Jean Baptiste Filoze, a man of ambiguous parentage on the father's side, his mother having been a common woman of a camp bazar attached to ~~one~~ of the French battalions. He had, however, been brought up, if not acknowledged, by the French officer whose name he bears; and the wreck of the infantry trained by the officers of that nation was placed under his command, on their desertion in the course of the war. A considerable portion of Sindheea's artillery was also attached to this force: and, in the interval between the settlement of 1805 and Lord Hastings' arrival as Governor-General, the forts and territorics of Bahadur-gurh, Gurra-kota, Chanderee, Sheepoor, with several others, had been wrested from their petty feudal lords by this commander. There were three other divisions of Sindheea's troops employed in the same manner, and commanded respectively by Bapoo Sindheea, Juswunt Râo Bhão (successor to Juggoo Bapoo deceased), and Ambajee Punt. A fifth corps was stationed about his person at Gwalior, under command of one Jacob, a Portuguese half-cast, Arratoon an Armenian, and some other officers ~~of distinction~~. The strength of each of these corps was from seven or eight to ten thousand

men of all arms; but it fluctuated according to the personal views and interests of the respective commanders, who were individually answerable to their troops for pay, the greater part of Sindheea's territories being parcelled out amongst them, and assigned in lots for the subsistence of the several divisions by the discretionary levy of exactions and contributions by each within the specified limits. Under such a system, the Gwalior Durbar could not be expected to exercise a very active control over any of the Chiefs so employed; indeed, the intercourse of each with the court was an uniform series of mutual deception and jealousy.

The disposition of the prince towards the British Government must, on the whole, be considered to have been, up to 1813*, rather favourable than otherwise. He found us punctual paymasters of the annual stipend of seven lack of rupees, agreed in November 1805 to be paid to him and his Chiefs. Nor had we, on any one occasion, interfered with the prosecution of his system of exaction upon the petty feudatories within the circle of his influence. Even when he sometimes ~~exceeded~~ ^{transgressed} his limits, which, by the treaty of 1805, ~~he~~ ^{we} had engaged to consider as ~~we~~ ^{we} had uniformly manifested the same indifference; and, though free to ~~claim~~ ^{claim} the advantage for ourselves, had never stepped forward to thwart his views ~~as a general principle~~ ^{as a general principle}. Indeed he had felt, that so long as he abstained from the territories of our actual allies, he might fearlessly pursue his own schemes in any direction; and, as there was still abundant scope for his ambition, as well as of employment for his military dependents, within the limits from which we had withdrawn, he had been sensible of ~~no~~ ^{no} restraints from our neighbourhood and superior power. This disposition resulted from

his experience of our past conduct; but as ~~these were~~ no security for our continuing to act on the same system, and as events seemed fast verging to that state, which must force on us the adoption of one, that could not but interfere with his plans and interests, it was natural that he should entertain a jealousy of our views, proportionate to the sense of his own comparative inferiority.

The disposition of Holkar's court was similar; and its Sirdars seemed to consider it their policy to avoid giving offence to the British Government, even when they affected personal independence.

The resources of Ragoojee Bhoosla had been so reduced by the effects of the war of 1803, which deprived him at once of Berar and Cuttack, that he was scarcely strong enough to defend his own dominions from the aggression of the lawless predatory bands, which had collected along the Nerbudda. The military establishments of this prince, with the exception of some corps of Arabs kept near the Raja's person, were undoubtedly ~~more~~ defective than those of any native potentate. While fewer European improvements had been grafted on the old Mahratta system, the latter had lost all those qualities ~~that~~ ever had made it formidable. Indeed, ~~so~~ despicable was the character of ~~his troops~~, that in 1809-10, Ameer Khan, a Patan officer in Holkar's service, and one of those who was aspiring at independence, planned an attack on Nâgpoor in combination with the Pindarees, and would assuredly have annihilated the power of Ragoojee, had not the British gratuitously aided him in this extremity. A simultaneous movement from Hindoostan and the Dukhun induced Ameer Khan to abandon the design. It was on this occasion, that a Madras and a Bengal force first met on the north of the Nerbudda; Colonel Sir Barry Close having advanced to Seronj, one of Ameer Khan's principal possessions, where he met Colonel Martindell from Bundelkhand.

Ragoojee's disposition towards us was far from friendly, notwithstanding the service thus rendered him: his resentment for the loss of Berar and Cuttack overpowered any feeling of gratitude for this subsequent benefit. Yet fear dictated to him the necessity of keeping on the best terms with the British Government: for the idea of his ability to call in its aid, was his main security at this time against the ambitious designs of the adventurers in his neighbourhood. Under this conviction, he was nevertheless jealous in the extreme of his political independence, and very averse to the formation of a specific defensive alliance of the same nature as those subsisting with the Nizam and Pêshwa; justly concluding it a sacrifice of his dignity and reputation among the states of India, to assume the character of dependence on a British subsidiary force.

Such being the feeling and disposition of the several great independent powers in India, there seemed little in their condition or motions calculated to excite any present alarm. As far as they were individually concerned, the object of the settlement of 1805-6 appeared to have been attained; their weakness afforded a security against any one of them meditating a separate hostile enterprise; at the same time, that the balance then established remained unaltered, and the mutual jealousies relied upon as the guarantee against a second coalition were yet unextinguished. Nevertheless, there was an unsoundness in this system of our relations, which had been predicted by many, at the moment of their establishment on this basis. Its defects had begun to be apparent some time before 1814, and it could no longer be disguised, that the settlement of 1805 was, after all, but an incomplete arrangement, which must ere long be entirely remodelled. It had become manifest that this settlement, or rather the state resulting from it, instead of having a tendency to wean the population of India from habits of military adventure, in which so large a portion of it had there-

tofore been bred, rather multiplied the inducements to engage in that course of life. The class addicted to such habits was evidently fast increasing. At the time of the settlement, though there were certainly some bands of marauders and brigands, associated under different leaders for purposes of general depredation, their number was not sufficient to attract notice, and it was thought that they must soon either be dissolved through want of effectual bonds of union, or be incorporated with the troops of the regular powers, or, at any rate, that these latter, as soon as they were relieved from foreign wars and expeditions, would have the means, and see the advantage, of restraining bodies of men, who professedly subsisted on the plunder of their neighbours. Instead of this result, however, either from weakness and indifference, or from some erroneous notion of the policy of favouring the lodgment, in their neighbourhood, of a military force, available as an addition to their own strength in the hour of need, without the charge of any regular pay or establishment, Sindheca and Holkar, if not active abettors of the growth of these freebooters, were, at least, very lukewarm in their efforts for their suppression. Their only solicitude was directed towards preventing aggression on themselves, and establishing a sort of nominal authority over as large a portion of the class as could be induced to acknowledge their supremacy. They even made liberal assignments of land to effect this object; and if a leader of a *durra* of Pindarees, so the associations were called, happened to make himself obnoxious, his ruin was attempted, by turning against him the arms of a rival leader; without reflecting, that such a policy must, in its consequences, rather perpetuate than suppress the evil; the ruin of one Chief serving but to consolidate the equally dangerous power of another. It is by no means improbable, that the Mahratta states viewed the increase of the Pindarees with an eye to eventual service from their arms; for they avowedly attributed the dis-

asters of the operations of 1803 to their having imitated the European mode of warfare, and affected to believe, that, had they adhered to the Parthian method of their ancestors, the results of the contest would have been very different. The predatory hordes still pursued the old method; and the wonderful impunity and success with which they engaged in the most distant expeditions, passing the most formidable barriers of nature and of military art, and baffling every attempt to intercept their return, however well concerted, gave a colour of probability to this opinion: indeed, their calculation was erroneous, in one particular only, viz. that there were no strong holds in India which could hope to baffle our military skill, in case we should adopt the plan of pursuing the depredators to their haunts. They were ignorant of the degree in which our means were superior to those of Aurung-Zeeb; and recollecting that he, after having driven them into their fastnesses, could effect no more, readily gave into the belief, that the British power, now in its zenith, was only to be combated by the arms and arts with which Sevajee had foiled the Moghul in times of yore.

It is immaterial, however, whether accident or design had permitted the predatory hordes to gain the strength they had attained in 1814. Their actual condition at that period entitled them to be regarded as a distinct political interest of the day, requiring an equal exertion of vigilance and circumspection, as Hyder in the height of his power and inveterate animosity. The actual military force at the disposal of these associations amounted to 40,000 horse, inclusive of the Patans, who, though more orderly and better disciplined than the Pindarees of the Nerbudda, possessed the same character, and were similarly circumstanced in every respect, supporting themselves entirely by depredation wherever they could practise it. This number would be doubled, were we to add the remainder of Holkar's troops of the irregular kind, which were daily deserting the

service of a falling house, in order to engage in the more profitable career of predatory enterprise, and the loose cavalry establishments of Sindheea and the Bhoosla, which were bound by no ties, but those of present entertainment, and were always in great arrear of pay. These materials formed the groundwork of an interest formidable at least to our repose, if not to our safety: and its central situation in India, nearly equi-distant from the dominions of the three presidencies, imposed the necessity of the most extensive annual precautions of defence, in spite of which, the territories of our allies were continually overrun. On two occasions, once when they entered Guzerat in 1808-9, and again in 1812, when the Bengal provinces of Mirzapoor and Shahabad were devastated, they penetrated into our immediate territories, which for years had been exempt from such a calamity. The spirit of enterprise evinced on these occasions had much advanced the reputation of these associations; and, although they were not now united under any single head, there had grown up among them a principle of concert in prosecution of common objects, such as a man of superior energy and abilities, had such an one chanced to arise among them, might model into the same description of force that Tymoor and Jhungeez Khan had directed to the devastation of the eastern world. The rise of Sevajee and of Hyder, both rapid and both formidable, was a proof that such things could take place in India as well as in other countries; and the whole of the unsettled spirits of central India were exactly in the condition to engender such another conqueror. They resembled the bands of Companions that swarmed all over Europe in the fourteenth century, and wanted but a leader, whose standard they could rally round with confidence. The lawless and independent character of the Pindarees, and the mode of their association, which rendered the Chiefs responsible to nobody for their acts, and made it impossible to hold any of the regular

powers legitimately answerable for their dangerous existence, were the circumstances that made it necessary to watch their motions with especial caution, in order to anticipate the effects of any sudden combination. With this view, the British power had interposed at once, when Ameer Khan had attempted to collect a large body together, in prosecution of his design upon the dominions of the Bhoosla Raja; it being our uniform and avowed object to preserve things on their actual footing, and to prevent any of those fluctuations of power, which generally end in erecting a vigorous and ambitious domination on the ruins of a weak superannuated government. It was evidently not for our interest, that either the Pindarees or the Patans should build up such an edifice on the site of any of the regular states with which we were at that time connected; and it was certainly incumbent on our policy to make some effort to prevent it.

A short sketch of the origin of the predatory hordes, passing under the general denomination of Pindarees, and of the Chiefs under whom their numbers were arrayed in 1814, will lead to a more distinct view of their actual condition at that time. The name of Pindara is coeval with the earliest invasions of Hindoostan by the Mahrattas; the actual derivation of the word is unknown, notwithstanding the researches of several etymologists. The designation was applied to a sort of roving cavalry, that accompanied the Pêshwa's armies in their expeditions, rendering them much the same service as the Cossacks* perform for the armies of Russia. When the Pêshwas ceased to interfere personally in the affairs of Hindoostan, leaving that part of the Mahratta empire to the Sindheea and the Holkar Chieftains, the Pindarees were thenceforth ranged in two parties, assuming

* Pindara seems to have the same reference to Pandour that Cozák has to Cossack.

respectively the appellation of Sindheea-shahee, or of Holkar-shahee, accordingly as they attached themselves to the fortunes of either family. They still preserved, however, all the peculiarities of their own mode of association; and the several leaders went over with their bands to one Chief or the other, as best suited their private interests, or those of their followers. In 1794, the principal leaders first obtained assignments of land from Sindheea, in the valley of the Nerbudda, and amongst the hills which skirt it on the north. From that time till about 1800, there were two principal Chiefs, the brothers Heeroo and Burun, whose standards were annually raised in that valley at the season of the Dussera*, (an annual festival that takes place at the end of October or beginning of November), as a rallying point for all loose spirits and unemployed military adventurers. Here they consulted upon the best means of providing for the necessities of the year, by the exercise of rapine, accompanied by every enormity of fire and sword, upon the peaceful subjects of the regular governments. Until the close of the rains and the fall of the rivers, their horses were carefully trained, to prepare them for long marches and hard work. The rivers generally became fordable by the close of the Dussera. The horses were then shod, and a leader of tried courage and conduct having been chosen, all that were so inclined set forth on a foray or *luhbur*, as it was called in the Pindaree nomenclature. These parties latterly consisted sometimes of several thousands. All were mounted, though not equally well; out of a thousand, the proportion of good cavalry might be 400: the favourite weapon was a bamboo spear from twelve to eighteen feet long; but, as fire-arms were sometimes indispensable for the attack of villages, it was a rule that every fifteenth or twentieth man of the fighting Pindarees should be armed

* Vide Forbes's Oriental Memoirs.

with a matchlock. Of the remaining 600, 400 were usually common *lootees*, indifferently mounted, and armed with every variety of weapon; and the rest slaves, attendants, and camp followers, mounted on tattoos or wild ponies, and keeping up with the *luhbur* in the best manner they could. It is not surprising, that a body so constituted, and moving without camp equipage of any kind, should traverse the whole of India in defiance of the most active pursuit by regular troops along the same line of march: indeed, the rapidity with which they spread their devastations to the southern extremity of the Pêshwa's and of the Nizam's territories, over an extent of not less than seven degrees of latitude from the Nerbudda, baffled every attempt to interrupt or overtake them. The cruelties they perpetrated were beyond belief. As it was impossible for them to remain more than a few hours on the same spot, the utmost despatch was necessary in rifling any towns or villages into which they could force an entrance; every one, whose appearance indicated the probability of his possessing money, was immediately put to the most horrid torture*, till he either pointed out his hoard, or died under the infliction. Nothing was safe from the pursuit of Pindaræe lust or avarice; it was their common practice to burn and destroy what could not be carried away, and, in the wantonness of barbarity, to ravish and murder women and children, under the eyes of their husbands and parents.

In the infancy of the establishment of the Pindarees on the banks of the Nerbudda, their devastations were not carried to

* A favourite mode of compulsion with them was, to put hot ashes into a bag, which they tied over the mouth and nostrils of their victim, whom they then thumped on the back till he inhaled the ashes. The effect on the lungs of the sufferer was such, that few long survived the operation. Another common mode was, to throw the victim on his back, and place a plank or beam across his chest, on which two people pressed with their whole weight.

so great a distance as afterwards, when they began to feel their strength, and when the desolation of the immediate neighbourhood made it requisite to push their expeditions to a distance, in order to make them sufficiently productive. With the fruits of these expeditions, the Chiefs were from the first enabled to keep together a large military force without much territorial revenue, and to offer the occasional services of a part of their strength to Sindheea, Holkar, and other neighbouring Chieftains, at a cheaper rate than the same amount of assistance was elsewhere procurable. By means of further assignments obtained in recompense for such services, and of conquests made by the bands thus kept together upon the Grassea (aboriginal) Rajas in the mountains bordering the Nerbudda, who had never yet submitted to the Mahrattas, the Pindaree Chiefs gradually extended their influence; while, at the same time, the reputation of these successes brought additional swarms of adventurers to their standard.

About the year 1800, the two Chiefs Heeroo and Burun died either in the course of nature, or by violent means, the one at Nâgpoor, and the other at Asseergurh. Both left sons; the former, Dost Mahommed and Wâsil Mahommed; the latter, the two Rajuns; but it was not till after some time that these individuals succeeded to any part of their fathers' influence: the pre-eminence devolved, in the first instance, upon other Sirdars, according to their reputation and ability as leaders. Kureem Khan, a Holkar-shahce Pindara, was the first who rose to consequence after the death of the brothers; indeed, he was not altogether free from suspicion of having procured the death of Burun at Asseergurh. Kureem was an active, bold, and ambitious adventurer, sufficiently devoid of principle to profit by the politics of the time. He commenced his career, by joining the rising fortunes of Juswunt Rao Holkar, with a considerable party of followers, pledged to consider their own and their

leader's interest as inseparable. His services proved valuable to Holkar, and were suitably rewarded. A short time after, he was bought over by Sindheea, who gave him the title of Nuwab, and several assignments of land in the valley, and above the ghâts of the Nerbudda: thenceforth he has been regarded as a Sindheea-shahee Pindara, though frequently found in arms against the adherents of his nominal superior. He enlarged his possessions by interfering in the internal affairs of Bhopâl, and in the contests of this state with the Bhoosla. After worsting the latter, he excited a civil war in Bhopâl; and giving his support to one party, was very near establishing his authority over the whole principality; but the state was saved by the personal courage and conduct of Vizier Mahommed, with the assistance of Dost Mahommed, the son of Heeroo, who began about that time to rise into notice as a rival of Kureem. During the prosecution of this ambitious course of self-aggrandisement, there was never any intermission of the systematic predatory expeditions, that still formed one of the main resources by which the chieftains maintained their military power. Sindheea himself, the Bhoosla Raja, and the Hindoo Chiefs of Bundelkhund, were the principal sufferers by their depredations at this period*.

During the troubles of the Mahratta empire consequent upon the war with the British, Kureem Khan availed himself of the opportunity to seize on some possessions of Sindheea and of the Pêshwa's jageerdars in Malwa; insomuch, that after the conclusion of hostilities in the year 1806, he was in the occupation of a territory of not less than eleven pergunnas; whereof the principal were Bairsea, Chipaneer, Ashtar, Shuja-

* The tolerance of this practice may, in part, be accounted for by the recollection, that a predatory inroad is not considered derogatory to the dignity of a Mahratta government, which avowedly regards rapine as a legitimate resource of the state.

wulpoor, Sarungpoor, Ichawur, and Sehoree, above the ghâts of the Nerbudda, together with Sutwas, and other places within the valley. His annual land revenue from this territory exceeded fifteen lack of rupees, besides compensations for immunity from plunder, which he levied on most of the neighbouring Rajas and Chiefs. He had also built himself a fort in the part of his territory acquired from Bhopâl, which was called, after him, Kureem-gurh. His power was now at the height; for though there were several Pindaree leaders who had never joined his standard, and who even affected a rivalry for the supremacy he had arrogated; still there were none whose means or influence at all approximated to those of Kureem. Though himself independent in every respect, and even an usurper upon Sindheea on more occasions than one, he still affected to be attached to that Chief's interest, and to call himself a Sindheea-shahee Pindara, for the obvious purpose of retaining some claim to protection in case of exigency. His power, however, excited that prince's jealousy; and, in 1806, very soon after the settlement with the English, Sindheea, by the proffer of his aid in the reduction of a fort (that, for want of artillery, had long baffled the attacks of Kureem), inveigled the Pindara to an interview, at which he seized his person, making a simultaneous attack on his camp, which was completely plundered. Kureem's possessions were then quickly recovered; and, for five years, he was himself detained a close prisoner in the dungeons of Gwalior. His durra, in the mean time, was not broken up, though reduced to no more than two or three thousand horse, by the defection of the greater part of the sirdars of inferior note, who had been tempted, in the full tide of his success, to unite their interest with his. The fall of ~~Kureem~~, however, strengthened the durras of other leaders, particularly of Chetoo or Seetoo, a Chief under whom the two Rajuns, sons of Burun, held a subordinate rank, and who had always been the avowed rival of

~~Kureem, though hitherto the~~ power of the latter had greatly preponderated. The party of Dost ~~Mahomed Khan~~ acquired a great accession of strength by the ruins ~~of Kureem~~, whose durra had now little else than plunder to subsist upon. The search of this, however, it prosecuted with considerable success under Kureem's deputies, and especially one Namdar Khan, who made Sindheea's territories the principal theatre of his depredations, in revenge for the treachery employed against his leader. In 1811, Kureem purchased his release from Sindheea for six lack of rupees, which were punctually paid through Zalim Singh of Kota. Returning to the scene of his former power, he immediately raised fresh levies of infantry, and invited the Pindaree Chiefs, who had before followed his fortunes, to rally again round his standard. In a very short time he recovered the greater part of the territory he had formerly possessed, and laid his plans to effect a general combination of all the Pindarees, preparatory to an expedition of more than ordinary moment. Even his rival Cheetoo was induced to unite with his durra; and the Dussera of 1811 was celebrated by an assemblage of not less than 25,000 cavalry of all descriptions, besides several battalions of infantry newly raised for the purpose. Kureem proposed to lead this force immediately against Nâgpoor, the weakness of which was notorious to all the Pindarees, whose detached parties had, a short time before, succeeded in carrying off a considerable booty from a suburb of the city itself. The Bhoosla state had fortunately won over Cheetoo by the recent grant of considerable jageers on the southern bank of the Nerbudda. He accordingly opposed the project, and retired with his durra in discontent.

This division proved the ruin of Kureem; ~~who had~~ a second time awakened Sindheea's jealousy ~~to such an extent, that~~ Juggoo Bapoo, one of Sindheea's principal officers, was sent with as large a force as could be collected, and with a reinforcement of

some battalions of Holkar, ~~to endeavour to cheat the pro-~~
~~scriptions of this impost.~~ There is reason to believe, that this
 enterprise was ~~promoted~~ by Cheetoo, who feared the con-
 sequences of having thwarted the designs of Kureem in respect
 to Nâgpoor; at all events, he was the main instrument of its
 success, and the person who derived the greatest advantages;
 the major part of his late rival's possessions being allotted by
 Sindheea as his share of the spoil. Kureem, expecting from Chee-
 too at least neutrality and indifference to his fate, advanced
 boldly to encounter Juggoo Bapoo. His rival, however, took
 an active part against him, so that he was completely defeated
 near Munohur-Thana, and obliged to fly with a few adherents,
 and seek refuge in the camp of Ameer Khan beyond the
 Chumbul. The strong representations of Sindheea and Holkar
 obliged the Patan Chief to place him in a kind of restraint, in
 which he remained until the end of 1816. His durra again
 declined to a secondary condition in comparison with that of
 Cheetoo, at whose cantonment of Nemawur, on the Nerbudda,
 not less than 15,000 horse now annually assembled at the
 Dussera festival, to issue forth under a leader of his nomination,
 in whatever direction he might prescribe.

In 1814, the following was supposed to be the relative
 strength of the Pindaree durras: Cheetoo 5000 good horse;
 total of all descriptions about 10,000, exclusive of the Holkar-
 shahee Pindarees, mustering from 4 to 5000 more, who
 latterly attached themselves chiefly to his standard. The re-
 mains of Kureem's durra amounted to 2000 good horse; total
 of every description, at least 4000. Under Dost Mahommed
 6000, with the usual proportion of the best quality; this Chief
 held considerable jageers above the ghâts of the Nerbudda,
 and usually cantoned in the Bhopâl territory. There were,
 moreover, at least 6 or 8000 horse, under independent leaders
 of inferior note, who joined one or other of the superior Chiefs,

as occasion suited. The party that penetrated into the district of Mirzapoor through Rewa was of the ~~durra~~ of Kureem, who planned the expedition a short time before his second fall. It was led by Fazil Khan, and, turning east as soon as it reached the Mirzapoor frontier, advanced to the neighbourhood of Gya, and then disappeared up the course of the Soane, before a single soldier from any British cantonment could come up with its track. Such was the anomalous and undefinable power that had grown up into consequence out of the political ~~settlement~~ of 1805-6. Its leading feature was hostility to all regular governments, and of course most particularly to ourselves and our allies, ~~in consequence of the~~ the necessity of constant vigilance along the whole extent of the south-west frontier of the Bengal presidency; while, for the security of the Dukhun, the subsidiary forces of the Nizam and Peshwa were annually obliged to move to the northern frontier of their respective territories, notwithstanding which precautions, the dominions of those states were continually penetrated and overrun.

Ameer Khan and Mahommed-Shah Khan, the two Patan Chiefs, who were rising into a similar and equally formidable pre-eminence, commanded forces of a very different description from those of the Pindaree Chiefs, though actuated by the same predatory spirit: each of them, besides horse, had large bodies of infantry and several guns. Mahommed-shah Khan's infantry were the old battalions of Tukojee Holkar, undoubtedly the best in India not under the actual command of European officers. Ameer Khan's were scarcely inferior. The cavalry were besides paid by the month, instead of living avowedly on plunder alone, like the Pindarees. Indeed, the grand difference between the two classes was, that the Patans were banded together for the purpose of preying on governments and powerful Chiefs. To this end, their force moved about with the materials of regular battles and sieges, so as to work on the fears of princes and men

in power, extorting contributions and other advantages from them, by such intimidation as an efficient army only could impress. ~~Whereas the~~ object of the Pindarees was general rapine; they preyed upon the population at large, without arrogating an ability to cope with the ~~established~~ governments; their form and constitution, therefore, were framed with a view to this exclusive purpose.

Rajpootana was the principal ~~area~~ for the exhibition of the ~~species of~~ depredation practised by the Patan leaders. The nature of the principalities of that tract, each of which was a petty feudal government, at war with its neighbours and with its own vassals, seemed to mark it ~~out as their destined~~ prey. Nor was it a new game that they were playing in that quarter; they merely followed up what Sindheea and Holkar had long been habitually pursuing. Indeed, although the objects of the Patan Chiefs were wholly personal, and prosecuted with perfect independence of each other, still they represented the Holkar interest in the country, and had introduced their forces under sanction of that name. The very means they possessed, viz. the artillery and regular battalions, had belonged to the Holkar family, though now employed in supporting and establishing an interest virtually distinct. 18063.

Notwithstanding this virtual independence of the Patans, Sindheea did not leave them in the undisputed enjoyment of the contributions and other advantages to be extorted from Rajpootana. A division of his army, under Bapoo Sindheea, lay at Ajimeer, acting precisely on the principles of the Patans, and living on the plunder it could exact from Jypoor and Joudhpoor. Another force was stationed in the Oodeepoor territory, encroaching on the power and possessions of the Raja there, and devastating the country. The Rajpoots, however, were considerably more jealous of Sindheea's apparently consolidated power than of the Patan Chiefs, whose very loose

connexion with the Holkar family gave them the character of mercenaries, who, for objects of private interest, might be hired and discharged at pleasure. Thus in 1809, when Sindheea seemed to meditate an invasion of the Joudhpoor territory with a very considerable force, the Raja called in Mahommed-Shah Khan, and took his army into pay for the purpose of repelling the attack.

This facility of transferring their services according to their personal views, gave the Patan Chiefs the further advantage over Sindheea and his commanders, of a pretext and power to interfere in the passing intrigues amongst the Rajpoots themselves, and to become partisans of the several factions, from each of which they took care to reap some personal advantage. So long as they had the prospect of such recompense, they were not over-scrupulous of the means of earning it. Ameer Khan twice sold his services for the treacherous assassination of obnoxious persons, and accomplished his purpose on both occasions at conferences held under the most solemn guarantees. This Chief was the acknowledged head of the Patan interest. His views of ambition were, however, not confined to Rajpootana until 1814; when, finding from the activity of our preparations, whenever he seemed to be meditating an enterprise against the Bhoosla, that we were resolved to prevent his aggrandisement in that quarter, he moved from Malwa across the Chumbul towards Rajpootana; and having strengthened his interest at the durbar of Holkar (then held at Rampoorah-Bhanpoora), took upon himself the supreme management of the Patan forces and interests. Mahommed-Shah Khan, Jumsheed Khan, and the other sirdars, agreed to act in subordination to him. The former of these dying about the end of 1814, the troops he had commanded became incorporated with those under the personal command of Ameer Khan. This military adventurer was thus placed at the head of a force of at least

30,000 horse and foot, furnished with an artillery well manned and served; yet he had no claim to be recognised as a substantive power, though no one of the regular governments could fairly be held responsible for his acts. The field of his operations lay in a quarter where there was every likelihood of his coming ere long into contact with the British Government, or with those under its protection.

Against this power, as well as the Pindarees, we were obliged to be continually armed, and on the alert. The want of any determinate territory or home, or of any other stake to be hazarded by the first act of hostility, left us entirely without security for their peaceable demeanour; there was nothing to restrain them but mere motives of convenience, and the sense that the calculation of the chances of success was against them. This, however, was the result of continual and most expensive preparation, the necessity of which was a part of the evil that required a remedy.

Such was the state of India at the beginning of the year 1814. In the subsequent chapters, the events which led to the final catastrophe of the year 1817-18 will be traced through the intermediate period, with as much conciseness as may be found consistent with the object of exhibiting a distinct view of the origin of those occurrences, and the share which the conduct of the British Government may have had in producing them.

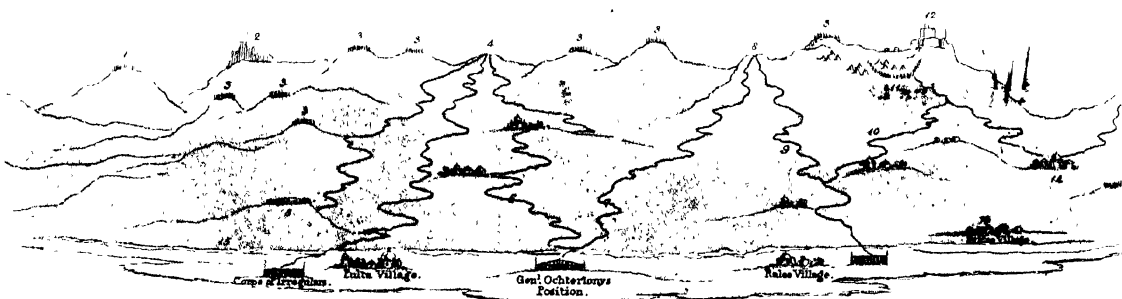


London, Published by J. Murray, 1825

DEFILE by which GEN^L OCHTERLONY Turned the CHERRAB-CHATER PASS.

SKETCH of GEN^L OCHTERLONY'S OPERATIONS to effect a LODGEMENT on the MALACUN HILLS.

Scale of Miles



1. Lagg Hill a Fort Position
2. Sanyagurh Fort extreme right of the Rylah Position
3. Rylah Fort an unoccupied point occupied by 3 detachments on morning of 13th April 1815, & evacuated afterwards.
4. Rylah Fort an unoccupied point occupied by 3 detachments on morning of 13th April 1815, & evacuated afterwards.
5. Rylah Fort, where Capt. Thompson's detachment moved on Rylah

6. Route of a Detachment of Grenadiers from Head Quarters on Rylah.
7. Route of Col. Thompson with a Battalion & 2 Coys on Doolhal
8. Doolhal occupied on morning of 13th April maintained against 2 desperate attacks
9. Route of Major Kaurie with a strong detachment on Doolhal
10. Support sent to Capt. Shonors attack on Enemy's Cantonments

11. Overkha Cantonment
12. Malacun
13. Rylahgaurh Fort whence Capt. Shonors marched on morning of 13th
14. Lagg Village to which Capt. Shonors detachment were driven back on his being killed.
15. Mullia or Revulet of Gunturah

London Published by J. Murray, 1820

CHAPTER II.

NIPÁL-TERRITORIES.

1814-15.

Nipál War—Governor-General leaves the Presidency—Intentions respecting predatory bands—defensive plans—that adopted—reasons—intrigues afoot—Bhopál and Sâgur alliance resolved on—condition of Bhopál—designs of Mahrattas thereon—Chief applies for British protection—terms offered—consequent military arrangements—progress of negotiation—communication to Sindheca—how received by him—Bhoosla—and Pêshwa—influence of Nipálese war—operations in that quarter—disasters—further preparations—successful close of the campaign—Preparations—in the Dukhun—on S. W. frontier of Hindoostan—augmentation of Bengal army—tranquillity of the season—Conduct of Bhopál—its Vakeel dismissed—communication thereof—Reflections.

THE negotiations which had been for some time pending with the Goorkha government of Nipál*, respecting its usurpations on our northern frontier, were, in May 1814, brought to the issue of open war, by its countenance of the murder of some of our people, who had been placed in charge of the usurped ~~the~~ ~~villages~~ villages in the Gôrukpoor district, after the British Government had recovered possession without meeting with any resistance by a military force. The extreme unhealthiness of the lowlands, stretching along the foot of the whole range in which Nipál is situated, rendered it necessary to wait the arrival of the cold season, before commencing active operations to avenge this outrage. The Marquess of

* The reader, who wishes to know more of this new and rising frontier state, is referred to the pages of Kirkpatrick.

Hastings had ~~previously~~ resolved to make a tour through the western provinces of the Bengal presidency, in order to visit the different military stations, and inform himself, by personal observation, of the actual state of affairs in the interior. In prosecution of this intention, he left Calcutta in June of that year, and arrived at Cawnpoor about the end of September, proceeding up the Ganges by the usual ~~and~~ tedious navigation. The period of the journey was occupied in preparation for the approaching contest with the Nipålese, and in arming the south-western frontier of the Bengal territories, and the northern frontier of our allies in the Dukhun, against the probable repetition of attempts by the Pindarees.

It had been resolved by the Supreme Government, on the eve of the Governor-General's departure from the presidency, to make a strong representation of the formidable and rapidly augmenting power of the predatory associations to the home authorities, with the view of impressing them with the like conviction of the danger to the British interests, arising from the continuance and progressive increase of bodies so capable of acquiring a mischievous pre-eminence, and of receiving their sanction for the prosecution of a systematic combination of measures, for the suppression of this growing evil. It was agreed on all hands, that the necessity of such measures would soon be forced upon us; and it was consequently essential, that those entrusted with the direction in England, ~~should~~ ^{should} ~~the~~ ^{be} early be apprised of the actual posture of affairs, and of the views respecting them, entertained by those who had the means of closer observation. There seemed to be time to wait the effect of this representation; for there was no reason at the date when it was made, to expect the occurrence of any thing to demand immediate operations in the quarter where the Pindarees and Patans had fixed themselves, while the Indian government found intermediate employment in the war with the

Nipâlese. For the present, therefore, it was deemed advisable to dispose our means in a defensive attitude, sufficient to prevent or repel incursions; and neither to advance to attack the Pindarees in their haunts, nor commence that extended plan of connected movements, which, though necessary to the entire suppression of these predatory hordes, might alarm the independent states by its contrast with our recent system of general and scrupulous neutrality.

The most effectual defensive measure, and the one most desirable in every point of view, seemed to be, the establishment of a subsidiary alliance with the Bhoosla Raja, whereby the whole of our most exposed frontier, viz. the line from Bundelkhund to Cuttack, defended by the single position of Midnapore, where a regular battalion was stationed, would thenceforth be skirted by the dominions of a power in strict alliance; and a force upon the Nerbudda, communicating on one hand with the southernmost position of Bundelkhund, and on the other with the troops at the northernmost point of the Nizam's dominions, would completely guard the whole line of our possessions and those of our allies, as far as it was possible to protect them against an enemy so active and impenetrable as the Pindara. This was a project nowise novel. The British Government had, for several years, been endeavouring to prevail on Ragoojee Bhoosla to accede to such a proposition, but could never conquer his repugnance and distrust. The negotiations for the purpose, which had been open since 1812, were finally closed while the Governor-General was on his progress up the river, by a decided refusal on the part of the Raja.

The best alternative that presented itself on failure of the Nagpoor connexion was, to extend the chain of positions from Bundelkhund to the Nerbudda, by means of a connexion with the states of Sâgur and Bhopâl, and thereby draw a similar defensive line westward of the Nâgpoor territories. The

necessity of adopting this alternative; should operations ever be undertaken without the co-operation of the Bhoosla, was fully acknowledged in the course of those discussions upon the practicability and mode of suppressing the predatory associations, which had preceded the representation to the home authorities; but it formed part of that extended system, which it had been resolved not to commence upon for the present, in fear of alarming the independent states. Wherefore, although Lord Hastings resolved in the end to adopt this course, he would have deferred so doing, notwithstanding the disappointment in respect to Nâgpoor, had not some indications appeared of a combination amongst the Mahratta powers, the danger of which required to be anticipated.

At the time of rejecting our alliance, it was discovered, that the Bhoosla was actually engaged in negotiating one of an offensive and defensive character with Sindheea, for the subjugation of the Bhopâl principality by their joint arms. One of the ostensible pretexts for this confederacy was, the necessity of a counter-preparation against the ambitious projects of the British Government, which were inferred, as well from the attempt to establish our influence at Nâgpoor, as from the stir of our military preparation, which denoted that active operations were meditated in some quarter or other, though the immediate direction was at that time involved in mystery. Sindheea's jealousy, ever keenly attentive to all our movements, was redoubled by this show of preparation; and it soon became evident from his conduct towards the Pindarees, that, whatever might have been his previous intention, he had now no wish to suppress them. As a further consequence of this jealousy, intrigue began to be busy at the quarters of Ameer Khan and the durbar * of Holkar, and even with Runjeet Singh, the ruler

* At the court of Holkar, affairs were at this time in the hands of Myn^{or} Bae and Tantea Aleck^{ur}, with whom Sindheea had considerable influence. The minister,

of the Punjâb Seikhs. The Pêshwa was suspected to have joined these intrigues thus early, if not to have been the first author and instigator of them ; a change having been observed in his conduct some time before, which will ~~probably~~ be more particularly adverted to. It is difficult exactly to define the immediate objects or extent of these intrigues ; whether merely defensive against any supposed designs on our part, for the further extension of our dominion, in a manner injurious to the interests of the contracting parties ; or offensive also, in case of a favourable opportunity. The advance of Runjeet Singh's army to a position threatening the territory of the protected Seikhs, which took place immediately after the division at ~~Soodeeana~~, under Sir David Ochterlony, was moved into the hills to attack Um~~oor~~ Singh, and the concentration of the Patans under Ameer Khan, which occurred at a critical moment, and within a few marches of our Agra frontier, afford reason to suspect that the object of the confederacy was not purely de-

Tanteea, paid a visit to Gwalior early in 1815, in order to negotiate a treaty of closer union and concert between the two families, for the prosecution of common objects, under the general direction of the Pêshwa, as supreme head of the Mahratta empire. The conciliation of the Pindarces by territorial grants in the respective dominions of both the families, and the concentration of the military force of both states for the prosecution of ambitious designs against the Rajpoots, were the most striking articles of this offensive and defensive alliance, apparent on the face of the copies of this agreement, delivered in the sequel. There is reason, however, to believe that there were other secret articles, which have not even yet been divulged. Indeed it is well known, that there was one such article levelled against Ameer Khan, and more than suspected, upon many accounts, that another aimed at the diminution or subversion of the British interest. In the end, the negotiation came to nothing, from a strong surmise, that Sindheea's main object was to establish his influence at the court of Mulhar Rao, for the purpose of supplanting the family in their possessions. An opposite faction was also at work, and Tanteea Aleek-hur, with Myn~~oor~~ Bae, yielded very soon after to Balaram Set and Toolsee Bae, whereof the former was favourable to Ameer Khan and the Patans and jealous of Sindheea.

fensive: but this is a point it is no longer important to investigate.

No sooner was Lord Hastings apprised of these intrigues, than he saw at once that their immediate result must have been, the consolidation of the Mahratta power over the whole tract, separating the Bengal territories from those of our allies in the Dukhun, which must not only have cut off the Bhoosla for ever from any connexion with us, by rivetting his dependence on Sindheea, but have deprived us of the alternative offered in the connexion of Bhopál, by the previous subjugation of that state. Urged by these considerations, he resolved no longer to hesitate in stepping forward to complete his defensive arrangements, by forming a connexion with Bhopál and Sâgur, in despite of any efforts by the regular independent powers, to counteract the design. It certainly was a bold stroke of policy; but it presented the double advantage of thwarting Sindheea's apparent design of establishing his influence over Nâgpoor, and of rescuing another principality, whose existence promised us many most essential benefits; moreover, it served to complete those defensive measures, which the suspected disposition of the regular powers, and their present undisguised encouragement of the predatory bands, rendered more necessary than ever for the security of our own provinces. Perhaps the very imposing boldness of the step, which exhibited a degree of vigour and resolution proportionate to the certainty of giving offence, was its best recommendation to his lordship's mind; inasmuch as it was calculated to impress on the native princes a sense of the vigilance and confidence of his administration.

A brief notice of the condition of Bhopál will not be here out of place. The territory of this state lies in the valley of the Nerbudda, and above the hills to the north, between the 77th and 78th degrees of east longitude. The government has

been vested in a Patan family since the days of Aurung-zeeb. The reigning Chief in 1814 was Vizier Mahommed, who had acquired the succession, rather by proving himself the fittest of the family to sustain its declining fortunes in arduous times, than as the lawful heir by the rules of hereditary descent. The family had preserved their political independence against the most active efforts of the Mahrattas in the fulness of their military preponderance; although their position immediately between the Bhoosla and ~~and~~ Sindheea made their territory the particular object of Mahratta jealousy, and presented, as long as it should remain inviolate, an effectual bar to the consolidation of the influence of that nation in this part of India. On a former occasion, when General Goddard was sent by Warren Hastings with an expedition from Hindoostan, in execution of his sagacious plan of alarming the Mahratta powers, then confederated against us, into the acceptance of his own terms of peace, by penetrating through the very heart of their possessions, the existence of this independent principality was one of the principal encouragements to make the attempt. The family are still in possession of the strongest testimonials from General Goddard of the important services rendered him by the reigning Nuwalr; ~~indeed~~, the ultimate success of the enterprise, and the final accomplishment of that officer's wonderful march across an enemy's country all the ~~way to~~ ^{to} Surat, were mainly to be attributed to his having found this principality in a state of independence and hostility to the Mahrattas midway on his line of march.

The importance of saving such a friend, when a hostile combination of the Mahrattas was to be apprehended, must be obvious enough. Already, in execution of the offensive and defensive engagements between Sindheea and the Bhoosla, was the best appointed force of the former, that commanded by Colonel Baptiste, on one part of the frontier; while Sudeek Ulee Khan,

with the troops of Nágpoor, approached it on the opposite side ; and another division of Sindheea's troops, that under Juswunt Rao Bháo, was also in the neighbourhood. No time was to be lost. Sindheea had before frequently attacked this state, and even besieged its capital, but without success, owing partly to the incapacity of the commanders he employed and their general ignorance of the mode of attacking fortified places, and partly to the gallantry and skill of Vizier Mahommed's defence. The Maha-Raja, however, had never before entered Bhopál with so efficient an army, and Baptiste's knowledge of European tactics and long and successful practice in the various sieges he had hitherto conducted, seemed to leave but little hope that the ~~Vizier~~ would be able to save himself and his dominions on this occasion.

His perpetual hostility to the Mahrattas had naturally made him look to us as a resource in the hour of extremity ; and that hour was now fast approaching. He was accordingly induced to make a very earnest solicitation for our support ; and for that purpose despatched an agent to Dehlee, who waited on Mr. Metcalfe the British resident there, and submitted, on behalf of his master, a specific proposition to be admitted within the pale of our protection. His application ~~was~~ reached the Governor-General a short time before he ~~had~~ made his determination, ~~which was~~ not finally resolved on until the beginning of October. When his mind was fully made up on the matter, he lost no time in instructing Mr. Metcalfe to entertain the proposition, and, in case ~~the~~ ^{he} should be furnished with powers sufficiently ample and explicit, to conclude with him an engagement on the following basis—" The British Government " to afford its protection against the present designs of Sindheea " and the Bhoosla, and a perpetual guarantee for the future ; " the Nuwab to be left in complete independence in the " management of his internal administration ;—the British troops

“ to have free ingress and egress through the Bhopál territories,
 “ together with every facility in the provision of their supplies
 “ and necessaries—a fortress to be delivered as a present depot,
 “ and, eventually, a spot to be allotted for a cantonment or per-
 “ manent station—the Nuwab to renounce all connexion with
 “ the Pindarees, and not to negotiate with other powers, except
 “ in concert with the British Government, abiding by its ar-
 “ bitration in all differences with them.” However, as it was
 thought proper to hold out the prospect of some advantage by
 way of inducement to enter into an alliance of this nature, the
 recovery of all the territories of the state, then in the hands of
 the Pindarees, was to be proposed, and the Governor-General
 prepared himself to abandon the claim of a money consideration
 for the expense of defending the territory, though the demand
 of a proportion of the charge, if contested, was not to be hastily
 relinquished.

The negotiation with the legitimate Chief of Sâgur was in-
 trusted to the political agent in Bundelkhund, Mr. Wauchope,
 and the basis of the connexion to be offered and concluded was
 precisely the same: a large proportion of the expense, it was,
 however, confidently expected, would be borne by the Nana.
 On discovery that the agent of Dehlee had not full powers from
 the Nuwab of Bhopál, both negotiations were removed to Bun-
 delkhund, which, from its vicinity to the two districts, seemed
 to be the most convenient spot for conducting them.

In support of the course of policy thus resolved upon, the
 troops in Bundelkhund were reinforced, and held in readiness;
 the Nizam's subsidiary force ordered to advance immediately
 from Jálna to Ellichpoor, near the northern extremity of the
 valley of Berar; the Poona subsidiary force to hold itself in
 readiness to act in its support, by moving on Jaférabad, in the
 neighbourhood of Jálna; at the same time, the Bombay govern-
 ment was directed to draw together the whole of the Guzerat

troops at some point eastward of that province. The object of these military arrangements was to overawe the Mahratta powers and predatory bands, in the event of their evincing an inclination to obstruct the execution of the treaties which might be concluded. Colonel Doveton, the commandant of the Nizam subsidiary force, began his march from Jâlna on the 3d November 1814; and it was intended that, with this army, he should penetrate into Bhopâl, to execute the protective stipulations of the treaty with the Nuwab Vizier.

The negotiations having been thus opened, Mr. Wauchope addressed a letter to the Nuwab of Bhopâl, explaining at length the terms on which the Governor-General was disposed to receive that state under protection, in compliance with the solicitations of the agent of his court, preferred at Dehlee. He hinted also at the Nuwab's bearing some part of the expense. An immediate answer was received from Vizier Mahommed, agreeing to all the stipulations proposed, with exception of the delivery of a fort for a present depôt, and of bearing a part of the expense. For the discussion of these two points, he declared his intention of deputing an envoy, ~~as soon as~~ the return of the person he had sent to Dehlee, which was daily expected.

Mr. Wauchope had been placed in communication with the residents at the respective courts of Sindheea and the Bhoosla, in order that he might keep them apprised from time to time of the state and progress of the negotiations: and these residents had been instructed, so soon as they should be advised of the adjustment of preliminaries, to explain fully to the respective courts the designs of the British Government, with the reasons for them, in such a manner, as they might deem least likely to create alarm. This being the first occasion of departure from the delicacy of interference we had hitherto so rigidly observed, in respect to states circumstanced like Bhopâl and Sâgur, it was deemed necessary that the British representatives at the courts

of the independent princes should be prepared, both to assert the right of extending the pale of our protection to any power free to contract, and to rebut any imputation of intended injury to their interests resulting from such extension in the particular instance, by showing it to be simply a necessary precaution for the support of our own defensive system, and by no means designed or intended to thwart their respective views.

The resident at Sindheea's court (Mr. Richard Strachey), conceiving the Nuwab of Bhopál's unqualified assent to all the fundamental articles of the Governor-General's proposition to amount to a preliminary adjustment of the terms of alliance, proceeded forthwith to make the official communication to Sindheea of the intentions of the British Government in respect to Bhopál, on advice of the substance of the Nuwab's reply to Mr. Wauchope. Sindheea, on receiving the communication, inveighed in the strongest terms against our interference with the affairs of Bhopál, declaring the principality to be one of his dependencies in Malwa, with which we were solemnly pledged by treaty to have no concern. The resident denied that it fell within the terms of the treaty, asserting it to be a free and independent state. Gopal Rao Bhão, who took a prominent part in the discussion, declared the several places which had been wrested from Vizier Mahommed by Sindheea at different times, to be cessions in lieu of tribute justly due, the account of which was still unsettled, and represented our interference to prevent the enforcement of these his just dues, as tantamount to a positive declaration of war. In point of fact, according to the Mahratta notions of political justice, Sindheea had a good title to whatever he could extort from Bhopál;—and, having been in the habit of making usurpations, and levying contributions on this territory as his peculiar and exclusive prey, he conceived no one else had any right to interpose. This is the

meaning he attached to the word dependency. It was notorious, however, that Vizier Mahommed had long maintained a most glorious struggle for his independence, and neither had himself, nor had any of the family before him, ever by treaty, or other act of any kind, acknowledged the supremacy of any Mahratta state. The discussions on this point grew particularly warm, Sindheea taking an active personal part in them, and using language which might have been construed into menace: and when, at the close of the interview, Mr. Strachey requested that Colonel Baptiste might be ordered to refrain from active hostility against Bhopál, until the Governor-General's instructions upon the resident's report of the conference should arrive, the request was distinctly refused. Indeed, considering that there was yet no actual treaty concluded with Bhopál, the demand was, perhaps, rather premature. This conference took place on the last day of November; and the tone then assumed by the durbar was nowise lowered at an interview obtained by Mr. Strachey's moonshee three days after.

Immediately on being apprised that this communication had been made to Sindheea, the residents at the other Mahratta courts resolved very properly, no longer to defer a similar explanation. The Nágpoor Raja required time to consider of his answer; but, on being pressed by Mr. Jenkins, privately assured that gentleman, that Sudeek Ulee Khan should be forbidden to join the army of Baptiste, or to act hostilely against Bhopál. It was farther ascertained, that this court would not oppose the advance of the subsidiary force at Ellichpoor through the portion of its territories which lay on the route from that station to Bhopál, in case events should require its movement in that ~~situation~~. A private correspondence, however, was kept up the whole time between the Bhoosla and Sindheea; and the intrigues, which had before been commenced in other quarters, were carried on with renewed activity.

The Peshwa, on being informed of the intentions of the British Government, in respect to Bhopál, professed to be highly satisfied, because of the security that would result to the Jageers of several of his dependants in the neighbourhood. Amongst others, the Vinshoreker, in whose concerns he took particular interest, had large possessions about Ashta and Shujawulpoor, which the Pindarees and Sindheea's commanders were continually plundering, and of the greater part of which they had already divested him.

Notwithstanding the exterior appearance of amity assumed at Nágpoor and Poona, which, in the case of the former, was carried so far as to produce an offer by Ragoojee of a body of his troops to be taken into British pay, and the pressure of this offer with some importunity, there was still little reason to doubt that both these courts were heartily bent upon the combination, which accounts from every quarter during the months of November, December, and January, reported to be organizing against the British power. Mahrattas, Patans, and Pindarees, seemed for the moment to have forgotten all their mutual jealousies, under the notion, that the moment was near at hand, which would give the opportunity of a successful rise against our galling superiority. The discovery that we had planned an extensive war in the hills, in which their reasonings from past history led them to anticipate our certain failure, and this anticipation was favoured by the untoward events that marked the opening of the campaign in that quarter, mainly contributed to lead all ranks to speculate on the speedy occurrence of such an opportunity. It was evident, however, that they were not yet prepared to act, nor had formed any consistent plan of future conduct.

To return to the movements of the Governor-General: at the same time that he proffered protection to Bhopál and Sagur, and made those arrangements in support of that measure, which

have been above detailed, he put four divisions in condition to take the field against the Nipālese; two of which, those from Meeruth and Foodheeana, had actually penetrated into the hills before the close of October. The resources for these measures had been raised by the loan of a crore of rupees (1,250,000*l.* sterling), obtained by Lord Hastings from the Nuwab Vizier, Ghazee Oodeen Hyder, who had recently succeeded his father, Sadut Ulee Khan, on the Musnud of Oude. By this supply, the treasuries of the Bengal Provinces, which his lordship had found at a very low ebb, were at once placed in a condition to support operations on a most extensive scale.

The failure before the stockaded hill and fort of Nala-panee, in which Major-General Gillespie lost his life, occurred on the last day of October. The place was breached, and a second unsuccessful attempt made to carry it by storm on the 27th November; and, though by the effect of continual bombardment, and by cutting off the supplies of water, which were derived from without, the garrison was ultimately obliged to evacuate the position, and was cut up a little in its retreat, by a party under Major Ludlow, still the sinister influence of these events, in damping the ardour of our own troops, and in giving courage to those of the enemy and hopes to the malcontents in every part of the ample surface of India, was for a long time counteracted by no one brilliant exploit of our arms. Major-General Ochterlony had yet been able to effect nothing against the strong position, in which he found Um^{er} Singh posted, on the heights of Ramguruh: and, although in the beginning of January, he, by a skilful manœuvre, compelled the enemy to retire to the yet stronger range of Malão^m, there was little *éclat* in such success; and, in the interim, the year 1814 had closed with failures still more unpropitious than even those of Nala-panee. On the 27th of December, Major-General Martindell, who had succeeded to Gillespie's command, made a combined movement.

to occupy two arms of the heights of Jytuk, whither Runjoor Singh, son of Umeer Singh, had fallen back from Nahn. The operation was well planned; but, failing on one arm in consequence of the impetuosity of the troops, the general, instead of reinforcing the other, on which he had been successful, ordered a retreat, in the face of an enemy elated with this double success. This retrograde movement was of course followed up by the enemy, and attended with the loss of many valuable lives, and was regarded by the Nipālese as an important victory. In addition to these checks, two detachments from the main army, which had been collected in Sarun, for the purpose of penetrating into the valley of Nipāl and attacking the capital, were, on the new year's day, surprised and cut off nearly to a man: an event which induced Major-General Marly to relinquish offensive measures altogether in that direction. Major-General L. S. Wood was similarly deterred from acting on the offensive, by the result of two unsuccessful reconnoissances of the enemy's force opposed to him in the quarter north of Górukpoor, wherein much ammunition was expended and several lives lost, without any equivalent or the gain of a single object.

The coincidence of so many untoward events, at the precise juncture when Sindheea had assumed the decided tone which has been mentioned above, gave the Marquess of Hastings ground seriously to apprehend that the crisis was imminent: had one other important check occurred in the months of January or February, it would probably have embroiled us with the whole of the native courts. The Governor-General resolved to be prepared for the worst at all points. Instead, however, of relaxing his exertions on the northern frontier, in consequence of the suspicious aspect of things on the south and west, his judgment dictated the necessity of putting forth his whole strength in that quarter, in order, if possible, to secure some early success, signal enough to counterbalance the effect

produced on public opinion, by such a multiplicity of consecutive reverses. The several divisions employed against the hill country were, therefore, reinforced to the utmost possible extent, though at the hazard of weakening the defences of the southern frontier. * The Sarun division was increased to nearly 13,500 men, whereof upwards of 3000 were Europeans. The command was also entrusted to another officer; but General Marly's successor, Major-General George Wood, perplexed by the unknown dangers of the Sal forest, which must of necessity be penetrated before reaching the hills, confined his efforts to some movements in the open Terrace, or lowland, on the hither side of the forest. The whole plan of the campaign in that quarter, as well as in Gôruckpoor, where Major-General I. S. Wood commanded, was thus immediately frustrated for the season. The dawn of success was nevertheless soon visible on the west, where Major-General Ochterlony began by reducing the forts of the Ramgurh range, which had been left garrisoned, when Umeer Singh had retired on Malâoun. This favourable outset was quickly followed up in Khumâon, by an irregular force employed in that direction, under the command of Colonel Gardiner. His attempt to penetrate to Almora, having shown this quarter to be a vulnerable point, a brigade of the regular army, under Colonel Nicolls, was pushed rapidly forwards. This officer, in the short space of less than a month, captured the city of Almora, after having defeated and slain the military governor opposed to him; and effected the conquest of the whole province. The fall of Almora, however, did not take place before the 25th of April. In the interim, the heights of Malâoun* had been carried by General Ochterlony on the 15th; and Umeer Singh, who had shut himself up in the fortress of that name, was soon afterwards reduced to such extremity, as to be obliged to surrender on terms for himself and for his son, who was

equally hard pressed at Jytuk. The whole of the hill tract, from the Gogra to the Sultej, was thus left at our disposal on the close of the campaign: a result which completely redeemed the reverses of its ~~commencement~~, and raised the reputation of the British arms amongst the native powers of India, to a height proportionate to their sanguine expectations of defeat and disaster.

The reader has been conducted thus suddenly to the termination of the Nipal operations for this season, without regard to the order of time, or occurrence of intermediate events. We left the native powers in December, 1814, under a very different impression respecting the war in the hill country, from that which was forced upon them in the following May. The military arrangements, which had been made in October, for the support of the Bhopal negotiations, were not of a magnitude to meet the extent of that combination, which seemed to be organizing against us in the course of December. Instead of being overawed by them, as had been expected, Sindheea had openly declared his resolution not to desist from hostility against that principality: and, as the Governor-General was determined to persevere in the policy he had entered upon, it became necessary to extend the scale of preparation in that quarter, as well as to the north, so as to provide against all hazards. The whole disposable force of the Madras army was accordingly ordered into the field, under the personal command of Sir Thomas Hislop; by which means a body of 13,000 men was brought together on the northern frontier of the British possessions in the Dukhun, at a point whence it could at any time move forward in support of the two subsidiary forces in advance. Reinforcements were at the same time ordered into Guzerat from the Bombay presidency; and it was his lordship's intention, in case matters should come to an actual rupture with Sindheea in confederacy with the Bhoosla and the predatory

associations of central India, immediately to assume the offensive on the side of the Dukhun, while he maintained such an attitude on that of Hindoostan, as he hoped would secure him from attack. This latter object, ~~however~~ was not of easy accomplishment, while the Nipal war continued to require such extraordinary exertions. There had been at one period of the season, upwards of 45,000 * fighting men engaged either in the hills or the Teraee. The military establishments of the Bengal Presidency were, however, scarcely sufficient, even in ordinary times, to man a frontier of upwards of 1500 miles, from ~~Good~~heeana to Cuttack, in such a manner as not to expose its weakness. Indeed, the whole frontier eastward of Mirzapoor was absolutely defenceless; and the Pindaree incursion of 1812 had completely manifested our vulnerability in that quarter. In this emergency, the following were the measures adopted. It had heretofore been the practice to leave nearly all the civil duties of the western provinces to be executed by the regular army; by which means the battalions were broken into detachments, and their discipline and efficiency very much impaired. From these duties they were instantly relieved; and until provincial corps should have been formed for the purpose, the civil officers were ordered to take into their service such temporary bodies of armed men, as they might be able to procure on the spur of the occasion. An arrangement was at the same time effected, which contributed most materially to the advantageous display of the inadequate means left available for the defence of the provinces: viz. the calling out of the grenadier companies of the regiments of the line, not on actual service in the field, and forming

* According to the returns, there were at one time in the field,

Regulars	-	-	-	33,059
Irregulars	-	-	-	13,570
Making a total of	-	-	-	<u>46,629</u>

them into independent battalions ; while their place in the corps was directed to be filled up by supplemental companies. By this measure, an addition of seven battalions was at once made to the nominal force. Besides the above temporary expedients to meet the present exigency, considerable levies of irregular horse and foot were authorized ; and Lord Hastings further determined to make a permanent addition of three regiments to the regular army, and to form six provincial corps, for the civil duties of the upper provinces. The irregular levies are of such a nature, as to be available the very moment they are raised ; and as the individuals, especially of the horse, generally come from those ranks most likely to be opposed to us, their enlistment is always a measure of obvious momentary expediency. The new regiments could not be rendered fit for duty in the current season ; but the motive of this augmentation was a firm conviction of the insufficiency of the military establishment, even for ordinary times ; more particularly since the Goorkha power had risen to such importance, that henceforth that frontier would require as much vigilance as the southern and western. The Burmese of Ava and Arracan had also lately assumed a tone which rendered it probable that it would soon become necessary to have a permanent force in this direction likewise ; and neither they nor the Nipålese had theretofore entered into the calculations which had regulated the extent of the Bengal establishments. Inclusive of all the provincial and local corps, this augmentation would still carry the Bengal army to no higher numerical amount than about 80,000 fighting men ; which would be the whole force relied on for the preservation and protection of half* a million of square miles, with a population of 40 millions, and a revenue of 12,000,000*l.* sterling.

Such were the provisions made by the Marquess of Hastings

* Including Oude and the protected states, but not the other presidencies.

to meet the crisis expected to occur in the season of 1814-15. Had it happened then, instead of three years afterwards, these preparations would have been no more than sufficient. The gloomy aspect of the campaign in the hills in January, induced his lordship to apply for two additional king's regiments from the Cape and Mauritius; and it was too late to countermand them, when the favourable turn of the tide had rendered their presence unnecessary. The more requisite precaution of recruiting the finances of the government by a second loan of a crore of rupees from the hoards of the Nuwab Vizier, contributed not a little to the facility with which these extensive arrangements were completed*.

It was, of course, some time before the above preparations could be put into a train of activity. The Madras army was not concentrated till March, when Sir Thomas Hislop assumed the command. By that time, however, it had become evident, that whatever necessity might have existed in December and January for military preparations on so large a scale, there was little chance that any part of the force assembled in every quarter would be called into active service this season. The interference we had already exerted in favour of Bhopâl, backed by such an appearance of precautionary vigilance, had proved sufficient to save the principality from attack; and the confederates not having yet gone the length of agreeing upon a specific plan of hostilities, which nothing on our part had occurred to precipitate, matters seemed, by general consent, to be subsiding into a state of repose, which, though wakeful and feverish, yet promised to last out the season. The Bhoosla Raja, on our requisition, arrested the advance of his troops; and Sindheea, notwithstanding his bullying refusal to abstain

* Upwards of half of the previous crore had been devoted by the council at Fort William to the paying off of an old loan, which imposed upon his Lordship the necessity of raising this further supply.

from hostile measures when requested by the resident, took the first opportunity of quietly withdrawing his forces. A fair occasion for so doing was offered by the violent conduct of Juswunt Rao Bhão, whose differences with Colonel Baptiste proceeded to the length of obliging the colonel to attack and drive him off. After this, Baptiste staid some time in the neighbourhood of Bhopál, negotiating with Vizier Mahommed; he then turned westward, ostensibly in pursuit of Juswunt Rao, leaving Bhopál altogether unmolested.

Sindheda had before the end of December received a letter, addressed to him by the Governor-General on the subject of the discussions which had occurred at his durbar. This letter, after explaining the grounds on which Bhopál was dealt with as a state free to negotiate and conclude alliances at will, professed a readiness to receive any statements and proofs to the contrary, that the durbar might have to exhibit; requiring, however, a suspension of all acts of hostility towards the Bhopál territory, until the question of its political independence should have been disposed of. The court immediately caught at this proposition, having, as it should seem, already come to the resolution not to hazard an open rupture, for which it was nowise prepared: after some delay, a paper of complaints was accordingly drawn up, asserting Bhopál to be one of the dependencies of Sindheda, but adducing no proof whatever; and further, accusing the British Government of having interfered with Sindheda's rights and possessions, by the extension of its protection to some of the Bundela Chiefs—a complaint, now preferred for the first time, though the measure had been adopted some years before. The Raja of Nágpoor also gave in a similar paper of objections to our connexion with Bhopál; the arguments of which were too trivial to be worth the recital.

The object of the Marquess of Hastings in inviting these durbars to the adoption of such a course of proceeding, was, to

testify his adherence to that moderation and regard to the rights of others, which had been the constant aim of the British Government in its transactions with the native powers; and, by opening a door to negotiation, to prevent any sudden recourse to violent measures, likely to bring on a premature explosion. It should be recollected, that the Governor-General's principal view in proffering his protection to Bhopâl, had been to save that state from destruction, and thus prevent that union of interests between Sindheea and the Bhoosla, which must inevitably have ended in fixing the dependence of the latter on the former. The advantage of the connexion as a mere defensive arrangement against the Pindarees, however important, would scarcely have induced his Lordship to step forward at the particular juncture, had not the other two objects been so intimately blended with the prosecution of the same line of policy. The salvation of the principality, however, and the obstruction of Sindheea's apparent views on Nâgpoor, would as well be accomplished by a slow negotiation, which left things intermediately just as they were, as by the hasty employment of force, directed to the acquisition of the same objects. Should war be unavoidable in the end, still, in the then actual state of India, delay was necessary for the full development of our means, and for the removal of the unfavourable impression made by the recent occurrences of the Goorkha campaign. In every point of view, therefore, the course adopted by the Marquess of Hastings was most judicious; inasmuch as, even granting that no satisfactory result could ever be expected from negotiation, time at least would be gained; and time, in fact, was every thing. This resolution was formed early in December; and in furtherance of it, Mr. Wauchope was directed, on the arrival of the envoy from Bhopâl, to call upon him, in the first instance, to exhibit proofs of the independence of the principality.

All these matters remained in suspense the whole of the

ensuing January ; during which time, the Nuwab gave out that he was under British protection, addressing letters to the commandants of the two subsidiary forces in the Dukhun, and to other British authorities, as if engagements had been actually signed and executed. At the end of January, he addressed a letter to Mr. Wauchope, informing him that his Dehlee agent had returned and acquainted him with all that had passed : that his vakeel should accordingly set off for Banda as soon as the Mohurru^m * was over. No vakeel, however, was despatched before the 18th March, or appeared at Banda until the 5th April. It was positively ascertained that the Nuwab, satisfied of his security from the steps already taken by the Governor-General, imagined he might now look about for other advantages, and had employed this interval in close negotiation with Baptiste and Sudceek Ulee Khan, not only while their armies were threatening his territory, when the excuse of imminent danger might have been admissible, but even after they had retired to a distance, and there was no longer any fear of attack being meditated by the Mahrattas. Moreover, notwithstanding that it was an express stipulation of the Governor-General, to which he had distinctly declared his acquiescence, that he should not negotiate except in concert with the British Government, he gave no intimation of any intention so to act, and carefully concealed the nature of his communications ; even denying the ~~having sent an agent~~ to the quarters of Baptiste after his retrograde movement, though the fact had been public and was universally known.

After such duplicity, it was not to be expected that negotiations, if opened at Banda, would be prosecuted with any cordiality on the part of the Nuwab. The Governor-General accordingly determined, in order both to mark his sense of the conduct pursued by the Nuwab, and to prevent his further

See *Letter*
 * *Mussulman* *Letter*. Vide Hunter's Hindoostanee Dictionary.

trifling with the British Government, to order his vakeel to be dismissed without an audience, as soon as he should appear at Banda. These orders were executed, and the negotiation thus broken off in April. Vizier Mahommed was, at the same time, assured, that no ill-will was harboured towards him, and that it was merely because his conduct had shown that he had not a proper sense of the value of the connexion offered to him, or of the spirit in which it ought to have been received, that the British Government, for the present, withdrew from the discussion of it.

This result of the negotiation, and the insincerity of the Bhopál prince's behaviour, which had been the occasion of its abrupt termination, were communicated in due course by the residents at the respective independent courts. It was, however, distinctly asserted on the part of the Governor-General, in reply to the objections delivered in by Sindheca and the Bhoosla, that no proof or argument whatever had been adduced, that could be construed to limit or preclude the right of the British Government to take the principality under protection on any future occasion, or to show that it had at any time been other than perfectly free and independent. No answer was made to this communication by either court; the point may therefore be considered to have been virtually conceded by the Mahratta potentates. The negotiation with the legitimate Chief of Sâgur, which was ~~also terminated~~ Bhopál, was abandoned at the same time; the delay and evasions of the Nana, Govind Rao, having shown, that to him also, notwithstanding his original solicitations, the connexion had become a matter of indifference.

The season was verging towards its close, ere these events were finally concluded; yet the inimical disposition which had been testified by the powers of central India had begun visibly to subside, or at least to be more guarded and disguised, through the extinction of any hope, that an opportunity of breaking out

would be offered by the operations of the mountain war of Nipál. The Governor-General felt, therefore, that it was unnecessary longer to maintain the same attitude of military preparation, which had been assumed under a different aspect of affairs. The Madras army was accordingly broken up, and the Guzerât force ordered back to its cantonments. The two subsidiary forces of the Dukhun remained for some time longer in the advanced positions they had occupied, with a view to afford as much protection to the territories of the Nizam and Pêshwa against predatory incursion, as the extended line to be defended would admit.

Thus ended the first season of active operations. The Nipálese were soliciting peace with every appearance of sincerity; the native powers of central India had been inspired with a degree of awe that kept them quiet; and Bhopál, though not yet linked in actual alliance with us, had been as effectually protected, ~~as if the treaty had been signed~~. Moreover, the interest for its preservation, evinced on this occasion, promised to afford security for the future, by leaving the Mahratta princes under the apprehension of our again stepping forward in a similar manner to thwart a similar design. ~~The~~ Vizier M^h hommed seems evidently to have anticipated this consequence of his application to us; indeed, his whole conduct shows that it was his intention, for his own security, to avail himself of the reputation of our power, rather than of its actual exercise; and that he never had any serious ~~thoughts of~~ binding himself to us in any connexion, which would interfere with his political independence. This high-minded and ambitious Chief was unwilling to forego the prospect of self-aggrandisement and extension of territory, at the expense of the regular as well as irregular powers, which hemmed him in on every side. His resort to us was a mere temporary expedient; and he wished

to have no further intercourse, than was barely necessary to gain his purpose.

The policy of the Governor-General's offer of protection to Bhopâl has since been brought into question, on the ground of its tendency to give birth to those very intrigues, and that very disposition to conspire against the British domination, from which he had apprehended danger to our interests. But the previous existence of these intrigues, as evidenced by Sindheea's connexion with the Bhoosla, and by the concurring reports of the several British residents at the native courts, was the principal, and perhaps the sole reason, that induced Lord Hastings to adopt the measure; the object of which had been to anticipate, and thereby prevent, the pernicious consequences to be expected from the projects of the Mahrattas at the particular juncture. Doubtless, when the outset of the Goorkha war had been unpropitious, and when such extensive exertions were required for its prosecution, ~~it is not to be denied that~~ the risk of giving umbrage to the Mahratta powers and entailing fresh embarrassment would have been incurred, without a sense of most imperious exigency. But probably in the opinion of some people, the best argument in favour of the course taken is to be found in the result which actually followed, notwithstanding the unlooked-for disasters of the campaign. It will have been seen, that the establishment of Sindheea's influence over the Bhoosla, and the destruction of Bhopâl, were thereby completely prevented. ~~Although~~ the greater part of the force of the Bengal presidency was known to be occupied in the hill country, and daily accounts of reverses in that quarter must have been eagerly circulated, the Mahrattas were nevertheless deterred by the formidable aspect of the British preparations from resenting in any way this undisguised and direct counter-action of their views.

CHAPTER III.

HYDERABAD-POONA.

1815—JUNE—JULY.

Rains set in—Hyderabad—Nizam's sons seize a dependent of the Residency—guard set upon them obliged to retire—troops called into Hyderabad—their submission and confinement in Golkonda—Poona—account of Bajee Rao—of Gykwar—his relation to Peshwa—to British—policy of Peshwa, and claims on Nizam—on Gykwar—referred to British arbitration—award as to Ahmedabad—Trimbukjee Dainglia—Gungadhur Sastree's negotiation—Intrigues at Brodera—protest of British Resident—renunciation of the arbitration—Gungadhur practised upon, and gained over—pilgrimage to Nassick—Sastree gives offence—his destruction planned—pilgrimage to Pundurpoor—dissimulation—Sastree murdered.

THE preceding chapter brought down the transactions of India to the month of June, 1815. The rainy season then commences, which is usually the signal for the suspension of active warfare, and drives into cantonments the few remaining troops, that the hot months of April and May have not already compelled to seek such shelter. Yet even the rainy period of this season was not without anxieties. Whilst a large body of troops was cantoned in Behar, waiting the issue of the negotiations with Nipál, which was to regulate its movements on the drying up of the waters, occurrences were passing in the Dukhun at the two friendly courts of the Nizam and Peshwa, which excited the most lively interest, and developed, in a manner not to be mistaken, the real disposition of those powers.

The Nizam's sons and relations were allowed to live freely in Hyderabad; and, after the manner of Moosulman princes all

over the world, collected about them all the dissolute vagabonds of the city, by whose agency they prosecuted a regular system of insult and extortion upon the rich and quietly disposed part of the community. The swarms of desperate characters and Patan bravoes, that habitually infest the streets of Hyderabad, had found in the scions of the reigning family apt leaders for all their excesses, whose influence at the palace screened them from punishment for the most flagitious crimes; insomuch that even the ministerial authority was frequently insulted, and murders openly committed with impunity. The most profligate and debauched of the princes were the two youngest sons of the Nizam, Shumsham-ood-dou~~la~~h and Moobariz-ood-dou~~la~~h, with their cousin and brother-in-law, Imteez-ood-dou~~la~~h. These young men were supported in their extravagancies by Tuhneet-oo-Nissa Begum, the mother, and Jehan Purwar Begum, the wife of the Nizam, and, shielded by this influence, carried their audacity to the utmost pitch, while the weakness and timidity of Raja Chundoo Lâl, the minister, rendered nugatory his attempts to control them. On more than one occasion, their iniquities had been the subject of a direct representation from the British Resident to his Highness the Nizam, who had ordered them to be subjected to some restraint in consequence. Their intrigues, however, baffled the minister's attempts to carry these orders into effect; and not being prepared to go the length of securing their persons, he could produce no reformation in their conduct.

In the month of August, these libertines seized an attendant of the British Resident, with a view to extort money from him. Mr. H. Russell, the Resident, immediately complained of this indignity to the Nizam; who, resolving to place the young men in actual confinement, sent a party of his reformed infantry, under the command of Captain Hare, with orders to plant sentries about the houses in which they resided. In execution of

his orders, Captain Hare marched first to the residence of Moobariz-ooḍḍoulah. On approaching it he was fired upon from the houses on either side, in which Patans armed with matchlocks had been previously posted. Some loss was sustained on the occasion; and, amongst others, an officer of the Resident's escort was killed. After carrying one or two of the houses, and putting the armed people found in them to the sword for the sake of example, Captain Hare pushed on to the palace of Moobariz-ooḍḍoulah, where he found the gates closed, and other preparations made for resistance. He succeeded, however, in forcing open one of the gates with some six-pounders he had with him; but seeing the increased number of opponents, and that further perseverance in the attempt to execute his orders would probably cause the Patan population of the city to rise *en masse*, he retired to the house of Raja Chundoo Lâl, to wait for further instructions. Meantime the Resident had called in the whole disposable force from the adjoining cantonment of Secunderabad; but finding the brigade there too weak to act against the city, and fearing that the present disturbance might lead to a general insurrection, he kept the detachment at the Residency, and immediately despatched requisitions, as well to Colonel Doveton, to move down on Hyderabad from the northern frontier, as to the officer commanding at Bellaree, to detach a reinforcement. In the interim, he suffered matters to remain in complete suspense. This gave the princes time to reflect on the probable consequences of their inconsiderate conduct; and the violence of the Patan character soon gave way to the awful apprehension of what would be the result. Thus the ferment in the city subsided of itself, and the princes were easily induced to throw themselves on the mercy of the Nizam, in whose palace they took refuge. Mr. Russell urged the necessity of their strict confinement, and it was determined that they should be sent to the fortress of Golkonda. This sentence, however, was not carried into effect, until after repeated and very earnest

solicitations of the Resident, who had to encounter the arts and intrigues of the Nizam's mother and favourite wife, as well as the indifference of the minister. When, at length, the princes were ordered off to Golkonda, the two Begums resolved to accompany them; and both actually went into voluntary confinement, hoping by this means to induce the Nizam soon to restore the offenders to favour. But his Highness coolly observed, on being informed of their departure, that they were very welcome to go, for he believed it was himself they had rather be rid of than the English; nor did he afterwards evince much anxiety to obtain the Resident's consent to the release of the culprits. The principal fomenters of the disturbance were shortly afterwards seized and executed; * Mr. Russell, seeing tranquillity thus quietly restored, countermanded the march of Colonel Doveton from the frontier, but retained the reinforcements he had received from the south, thinking it necessary to maintain the force cantoned at Secunderabad in a state of greater efficiency, as a security against the evidently hostile disposition of the Patan population of the Nizam's capital. By the end of September this affair was completely settled, and order re-established on a firmer footing than before.

While Hyderabad was under the alarm of these disturbances, events and discussions of a much more serious nature were passing at Poona. It will be necessary to the due understanding of these, to enter into a somewhat detailed explanation of the character of Bajee Rao's policy, and the arts by which he had raised himself from the situation of a fugitive, to that elevation of rank and power, which finally inspired the presumptuous confidence of ability to cope with the British nation.

It will be in the recollection of the reader, that Bajee Rao was the son of *Ragoonath Rao, or Ragoob~~h~~, the uncle and

* Vide Forbes' Oriental Memoirs; also Mills' British India, and the authorities there cited.

murderer of Nerayun Rao, brother and successor to the great Madhoo Rao, who was the last of the family of the Pêshwas that wielded in his own person the undivided sovereignty of the Mahratta empire. The murderer was expelled by a combination of the Chiefs; and the infant son of the murdered Nerayun was placed on the Guddee with the name of Madhoo Rao Nerayun.

During the minority, the power of the state was in the hands of a triumvirate, Madhajeo Sindheea and Tukojee Holkar exercising independent authority in Hindoostan and Kandêsh, while Nana Furnavees managed with uncommon ability the more difficult government of Poona and the southern territories. In 1795, the nominal Pêshwa, Madhoo Rao Nerayun, threw himself from a window of his palace in a sudden fit of anger, at a hasty word from Nana Furnavees, whose guardianship and strict control were becoming irksome to a prince already arrived at years of maturity. He died on the spot, leaving as next heirs the sons of Ragoonath, his father's murderer, of whom Bajee Rao, the eldest, was ~~immediately~~ proclaimed: but, as he immediately commenced intrigues to rid himself of the Nana's ascendancy, a fruitless attempt was made by the latter to set up a younger brother, Chinna Appa. Bajee Rao, though young, was an adept in intrigue and dissimulation of all kinds. By calling in the aid of Sindheea, he first ruined the Furnavees; and then, by availing himself of Holkar's rivalry with that chief, set limits to the control which the latter aimed ~~to exercise~~ over his administration. When, after Tukojee Holkar's death in 1797, Sindheea had, by espousing the cause of one of the legitimate sons, and by circumventing and slaying the other, established his entire ascendancy over the concerns of this rival family, he made no scruple of straitening the Pêshwa's authority at Poona. To earn his favour, Bajee Rao put to death Eithojee, the brother of Juswunt Rao, both of

whom were bastard sons of Tukojee Holkar. This act, which was committed in the firm belief that the Holkar interest was irretrievably ruined, occasioned the irreconcilable hatred of Juswunt Rao, and prevented a resort to the old policy of opposing the Holkar to the Sindheea, when the fortunes of the former family were restored by the abilities and activity of the surviving bastard. Thenceforward, the only counterpoise to Sindheea seemed to be the British power; and, as it was an early object of Lord Wellesley's policy, to detach the Poona state from the other Mahratta chieftains, and bring it under the influence of the British Government, it became Bajee Rao's study to affect to receive favourably the overtures made him on the subject; and, by keeping up the appearance of a secret negotiation with the British Resident, to excite Sindheea's alarms, whenever he had any point to carry. Though the intrigues and activity of Juswunt Rao, and other chiefs in Hindostan, fomented underhand by Bajee Rao himself, diverted Sindheea from the affairs of Poona and the Dukhun, about the year 1800, and left the Pêshwa ~~more free~~ to pursue his own projects, still he had little authority over the powerful feudatories of the empire, but such as he derived from Sindheea's countenance and superior means; so that, until the victory of Juswunt Rao Holkar over their joint forces, and his consequent flight from Poona into the Konkan, to throw himself under the protection of the English, he could be regarded as little better than a pageant in that chieftain's hands. The British army restored him to his capital and to independent authority, within the Poona territory; but bound him, as a condition of the alliance, in all transactions with the Nizam and with the independent Mahratta powers, such as Holkar and Sindheea, to square his policy to our views. Amongst other matters, it was specially provided in the treaty of Bassein, that the British Government should arbitrate the claims of the Pêshwa on the Gykwar state,

in case it should be found impossible to settle them by amicable adjustment. As it was out of this very adjustment that the discussions and events arose, which are about to be related, we shall be excused a short digression, for the purpose of explaining the nature and origin of the claims in question.

The rise of the Gykwar's power in Guzerât was almost contemporaneous with that of the Pêshwa's at Poona. Pillajee Gykwar, the first of the family, was Potel (managing proprietor) of a village near Poona. He entered the service of Trimbuk Rao, the Senaputtee, or general, of the Suttara dynasty, who, after the conquest of Guzerât, opposed in arms the ascendancy of the first Pêshwa. Pillajee was a principal officer of the Senaputtee, when the latter was defeated and slain in 1731. After a struggle with the Powars, and other Mahratta families, he obtained the chief management on behalf of the Senaputtee's descendants, and thus established his own power, by the same arts the Pêshwa himself had practised towards the Suttara Raja. Dying in 1747, his son Damajee succeeded to his rule, and received the additional title of Shumsheer Bahadur, from the nominal head of the Senaputtee's family, which is the last act of authority that family appears to have exercised. The Gykwars made good their independence in the province against the Pêshwa's attempts to reduce them by force. Arms proving unavailing, negotiation was tried, in order to procure an acknowledgment of supremacy. In the course of it, Damajee engaged in a conspiracy against the Pêshwa's power, at the head of which was the Dhabareea of Tullegâm. He marched his troops into the Dukhun in support of the conspirators: and, on their failure, was himself circumvented by a truce, pending which he was surprised and taken prisoner by Balajee Pêshwa. He was not released till he had agreed to resign the half of his possessions in Guzerât, to acknowledge his holding the other half in fief of the Pêshwa, and to unite his forces with those of

Balajee, in a joint expedition for the reduction of Ahmedabad, ~~then in the tenure of the Moghuls.~~ This place, if conquered, was to be similarly divided. Balajee's brother Ragoonath, father of Bajee Rao, commanded the Pêshwa's troops on this enterprise; and Damajee having executed the first part of the treaty, in spite of the opposition of the ~~ministry, who had conducted~~ ~~affairs during his captivity,~~ Ahmedabad was reduced by their joint arms in 1753. Since then, Damajee continued a faithful dependent of the Pêshwa. He was present at the battle of Puneput, in 1761, and attended at Poona in aid of Ragoonath the regent during Madhoo Rao's minority. For his services on this latter occasion he obtained the grant of Guzerât in perpetuity, together with the title of Sena Khas khel, or commander of the special band. In the subsequent differences between the uncle and nephew, he took the part of the former; but Madhoo Rao, being successful, punished him by the imposition of an annual tribute of 5½ lack rupees, and the furnishing of a contingent of 5000 horse. Damajee died five years after, in 1768, when the succession was disputed between Govind Rao, the second son by the first wife, and Syajee, the eldest son by the second wife; which latter was almost an idiot, set up by Futteh Singh, another son, with a view to personal aggrandizement. Pending this dispute, the Pêshwa was enabled to enhance his tribute by selling his countenance to the highest bidder; and Futteh Singh in the end carried the day, by agreeing to an annual payment of 1,779,900 rupees, and to a money compensation, in lieu of the contingent, of 675,000 rupees. With the help of the British he expelled his rival, and then paid his ~~tribute or not according to his own ability,~~ and to the Pêshwa's means of enforcing it. It was, however, stipulated in the treaty concluded by us with Futteh Singh, in 1782, that he should pay to the Pêshwa the same tribute, and yield him the same obedience as before the treaty. Futteh Singh died in 1789; and

there have since been three successions. In 1802, Anund Rao, the reigning Gykwar, received a British subsidiary force, and made several cessions to reimburse the expense of an expedition, fitted out by the Bombay Presidency, to repel an invasion of his territory by Mulhar Rao Holkar. On the last day of 1802, the ~~territory of Anund Rao was~~ concluded with the Peshwa. In 1803, ~~territory, yielding a revenue of 1,30,000 rupees~~ by Anund Rao in lieu of the subsidy, and the force being increased in the course of the year, further cessions were added to the amount of 290,000 rupees. The British Government had since taken upon itself the guarantee of the Gykwar's debts, and the management of the greater part of his territory; and the cessions altogether amounted in 1814-15 to 13½ lacks.

While we ~~was~~ thus gradually and peaceably establishing a complete ascendancy in Guzerat, the Peshwa's claims under the two engagements with Damajee and Futteh Singh were little attended to. At our suggestion, soon after the treaty of Bassein, Bajee Rao was induced to grant a farm of his share of Ahmedabad to the Gykwar for ten years. The fixed rent of this lease was regularly paid him; but no steps were taken to bring the other matters in dispute to an adjustment, Bajee Rao having never ~~thought~~ proper to advance his claims. The reason of this negligence may be found perhaps in the policy he was pursuing nearer home. The ten years, that followed the restoration of his authority at Poona by the British arms, were systematically devoted by Bajee Rao to the humiliation of the old Mahratta families, who, enjoying large jagheers and military tenures, on every occasion of ferment, chose their party, according as best suited their immediate interest, without conceiving themselves under the smallest obligations of fidelity and allegiance to the Peshwa's legitimate authority. He had conceived a particular enmity against this class, from a conviction that the state, to which he had been reduced by Jusrunt Rao Holkar,

and the necessity he had felt of applying to the British for succour (a step most derogatory to the Mahratta name and reputation), was owing entirely to his having been deserted in the hour of need by the immediate vassals of the empire. He seems, therefore, very early to have formed the resolution of seeking every means of reducing ~~the Mahratta empire to a state of vassalage~~ ~~the Mahratta empire to a state of vassalage~~ entertaining what troops he might need ~~individually~~ and in small bodies not exceeding one hundred under one commander, ~~and not of~~ ~~modeling~~ the fiefs in such a manner as should leave the vassal in the most abject dependence on his superior lord. The British subsidiary force, which was ever prompt to enforce the Peshwa's just rights, was ~~the~~ engine he relied on for the re-establishment of his authority over these jageerdars; but, as this force was only available where right was on his side, he contrived to turn its name, and the apprehension created by its state of perpetual efficiency, to equal account, on many occasions, when perhaps he could not have commanded its actual service. In the course of the ten or eleven years following the treaty of Bassein, this policy had been successful in ruining by far the greater part of the old Mahratta families. The ~~great~~ power of the jageerdars southward of Poona, ~~and~~ the circumstance of their having done good service to the Duke of Wellington, in the campaign which restored Bajee Rao to his capital, rendered it necessary for him to submit to our adjustment his relative rights over these latter. He was, however, greatly discontented at the adjustment finally made by us in 1812, because it required him to renounce in perpetuity his groundless claim of sovereignty over Kolapoor and Sawuntwaree, and fixed and defined his other dues, which it is always a favourite object of Mahratta policy to keep indefinite. Of course, having accepted the arbitration of the differences, we became the guarantee of its execution on both sides. It was

now found to be Bajee Rao's artifice to hold the jageerdars to the fulfilment of their part of the award with the utmost rigour, leaving, at the same time, such inducements to deviate from the letter of it, that some were occasionally found tripping, so as to forfeit our guarantee, and to give Bajee Rao a claim to our assistance towards their reduction. The case of the Rasteeas, very powerful southern jageerdars, is a notable instance. While urging to us the necessity of chastising their confirmed obstinacy and refusal to furnish their full quota of troops, Bajee Rao was privately assuring the family, that he had no design to ruin them, and thus encouraging their resistance, until their utter destruction was finally effected by our agency.

By the year 1813-14, the uniform prosecution of this crafty policy had succeeded in effecting the consolidation of the Pêshwa's authority over the whole of his Poona dominions; it had also filled his treasuries, as well by bringing into them the large revenue ~~therefore~~ appropriated by individuals, as by the rigid exaction of fines and penalties. Until these domestic objects had been attained, foreign affairs did not seem to occupy much of his attention; to them he now began to devote himself. The Pêshwa's government had indefinite claims on the Nizam; amongst others, one for *chout* on the revenue of nearly his whole dominions, originating in concessions made in an hour of extremity by Nizam Ulee Khan, but neither intended nor expected to be observed, unless the same necessity should annually recur. These claims, however, the British government had engaged by the treaty of Bassein to adjust and determine; and Bajee Rao began about 1813-14 to be most importunate for some adjudication. After some time spent in pressing for a decision, the supreme government resolved, that the senior assistant to the resident at Poona should repair to Hyderabad with the ministers of the Poona state, and a commission be there instituted, to consider and ascertain the relative rights of the

parties. From this time forth nothing more was heard of the Peshwa's claims. He ceased to urge them the instant he found in us a readiness to perform our part of the engagement for their settlement; either from distrust of our arbitration, or from an unwillingness to have his dues fixed and set at rest for ever.

The claims on the Gykwar were brought forward at the same time, and the decennial lease of the moiety of Ahmedabad being about to expire, Bajee Rao gave notice of his intention to take the management into his own hands, and on no account to renew the lease. With respect to the other matters at issue, it appeared, that four years before the conclusion of the treaties of Bassein and Brodera, the Gykwar had, through fear of Sindheea, agreed to pay up all arrears on Futteh Singh's engagement, besides fifty-six lack for his own investiture. It was on this basis that Bajee Rao expected the present adjustment of his pecuniary demands. They had been suffered to lie by so long, that, when the account came to be made up, they were found to amount to a sum considerably exceeding three crore of rupees, of which upwards of two crore were on account of arrears of the tribute and commutation money agreed to by Futteh Singh, the remainder for the moiety of acquisitions made by Damajee, subsequently to the capture of Ahmedabad, besides the item of fifty-six lack above mentioned for the investiture of Anund Rao, and upwards of thirty-nine lack in liquidation of an old account. The Gykwar had little to set off against these claims, and was evidently in no condition to make good so heavy a balance, as would ultimately have proved to ~~have~~ ~~been~~ due, if the account had been settled on this basis. At the suggestion of the British Government, Gungadhur Sastree, the

Gungadhur Sastree evinced extreme aversion to visiting Poona. The Peshwa induced our government to urge it upon him, under our guarantee.

prime minister of the Gykwar state, came under our guarantee from Brodera to Poona, to endeavour to make some adjustment or compromise of these claims. He hoped also to obtain a renewal of the lease of Ahmedabad, by offering some advance of rent. This latter object was in vain attempted in every possible shape. Accordingly, in June 1814, the resident at Poona was obliged to consent to the half of Ahmedabad being delivered to the Pêshwa's officers; and orders were issued for the purpose. The sobbanship was given by Bajee Rao to Trimbukjee Dainglia, who deputed an agent of his own to take charge of the Pêshwa's interests there. This Trimbukjee had risen from the meanest origin by the basest arts. He was first a menial servant, then one of the familiar companions of Bajee Rao, whose social hours were passed in witnessing exhibitions of the grossest debauchery, and had risen to favour by the conspicuous profligacy, with which he ministered and assisted at such entertainments. Though known to have been some time a personal favourite, it was not till after the above appointment, and his nomination to command the contingent, when called out in 1814-15, that he was introduced by the Pêshwa to Mr. Elphinstone, as a person high in confidence. He thenceforward regularly assisted at all conferences, assuming at them a tone of arrogance and undisguised ambition, which seemed to advance him in his master's favour, in proportion as his tone was heightened; a clear indication of the change of Bajee Rao's sentiments or designs, and of his beginning to feel the British connexion, rather in the restraints it imposed on his desire to restore the Mahratta empire to its pristine splendour, than in the security

his safety, by the holding out to us, that he was willing and able to come to an amicable arrangement, if he could have a personal communication with the Sastree. But his real object seems to have been, to remove from the court of Brodera a minister who was sure to oppose the conspiracy then in agitation for a general league against the British power.

it gave to the possession of what remained under his immediate sway. Mr. Elphinstone early marked this change, and gave a prophetic warning to his own government, that a serious rupture must inevitably ensue, if Bajee Rao persevered in giving ear to the flagitious counsels of this abandoned favourite. The transactions of every day, after this man's influence had been established, bore evidence of the truth of this prediction; and it was further attested by the conduct of the agent whom he sent to Ahmedabad, and who there commenced a course of intrigue and aggression, from which even the subjects of the British Government in the adjacent districts did not escape unmolested.

Meanwhile Gungadhur Sastree, instead of meeting a reciprocal disposition to bring matters to a speedy adjustment, had to encounter systematic evasion and subterfuge. The Pêshwa's ministers showed no inclination to accommodate matters, and would not recede an iota from their demand. He began therefore to be sensible that his object could not be gained without larger sacrifices, either in satisfaction of the claims in dispute, or in personal gratifications to the ministers, than he felt himself authorised to consent to. This turn of the negotiation, in so far as it gave him time, which he hoped would bring the Poona court to a right understanding of his master's means, and of the futility of pretensions so much exceeding them, was not unacceptable to the Gykwar envoy. But the objects of Bajee Rao, or rather of Trimbukjee, who seems from the first to have been entrusted with the whole conduct of this negotiation, equally required time for their development.

It happened, that the Gykwar minister had a rival for his official station at Brodera, in the person of Seeta-Ram, the former dewan of our choice, who was still supported by a strong party in the palace of the Gykwar, notwithstanding that the Sastree had, on Futteh Singh's elevation, obtained the entire control of affairs, by the direct interference of the British govern-

ment. Since then, Seeta-Ram had been under some degree of *surveillance*, though by no means strict. Trimbukjee, however, availing himself of the Sastree's absence from Brodera, set on foot an intrigue, the object of which was to replace his rival in the ministry, to the Sastree's exclusion, and thus to establish the Pêshwa's influence at the court of Brodera, in lieu of that of the British Government. In furtherance of this plan, an agent, named Govind Rao Bujdojee, came from Seeta-Ram, in October, 1814, and was well received at Poona. A second agent, Bhugwunt Rao, came in the month of January following; and, on the Busunt Punchumee * festival, by the good offices of Trimbukjee, they both obtained a favourable reception from the Pêshwa himself, at the public audience of that day, which occurred in February, 1815. A letter was also procured in the hand-writing of Anund Rao, the nominal Gykwar, from which it would seem that he did not altogether discountenance these intrigues; and they were more openly espoused by a party amongst the women of his household. It should be observed, too, that they were most active just at the time, when the reverses at the opening of the Goorkha campaign, and the state of the negotiations respecting Bhopâl, gave the Marquess of Hastings such strong reason to apprehend the worst from the disposition of the Mahratta powers towards the British interests. On the first appearance of these intrigues in October, Mr. Elphinstone ~~was~~ protested against them; whereupon Bajee Rao's ministers did not affect to deny their existence, but, on the contrary, justified them on the ground that the Gykwar was a dependent of the Pêshwa, who was bound to look after his vassal's interests, that through the Sastree's mismanagement had been suffered to go to ruin. When Mr. Elphinstone argued, that his Highness's attempt to interfere was subversive of the British alliances with both states, our influence having

* A Hindoo festival. Vide Hunter's *Hindoostanee Dictionary*.

been instrumental in producing the existing arrangements at the court of Brodera, under authority acquired by treaties with the Gykwar, which the subsequent treaty of Bassein had formally recognised; the argument seemed to make little impression, and produced no relaxation in the activity with which the intrigues were carried on. In October, Mr. Elphinstone had confined himself to the request, that Gungadhur Sastree should be dismissed, since no good seemed likely to result from protracting an amicable negotiation with a party, whom it was endeavoured at the same time, by secret intrigue, to undermine and remove from office. However, at the Sastree's own request, he refrained from insisting on this point. Gungadhur, it seems, was himself unwilling to break off the negotiation, having still hopes of effecting an amicable compromise by delay; and he had been relieved from any fear in respect to the result of the intrigues at Brodera, by Seeta-Ram's being subjected to further restraint, at the suggestion of the English Resident at the court of the Gykwar. But in February, when it became evident to Mr. Elphinstone, that the negotiation must come to nothing if conducted in the manner it had been, and the arrival of the second agent from Seeta-Ram showed the increased and alarming vigour with which the intrigues were still pursued, he distinctly informed the Pêshwa's government, that, unless the right which had been asserted to interfere in the internal administration of the Gykwar's affairs were formally renounced, the Pêshwa must not expect the British government to arbitrate or assist in enforcing his claims upon that state. At the same time, he demanded that the two agents of Seeta-Ram should either be delivered up, or at least discountenanced and dismissed as offenders and conspirators against the established government of the Gykwar principality; giving notice also, that unless the latter demands were complied with, he would break off the negotiation altogether, and the Sastree must return to Brodera by the end of March. As Bajee Rao was not disposed

to make any renunciation of his asserted right, the negotiations, as far as the British Resident was concerned, were dropped on this ground, which was again most fully explained on the first day of the following month. Gungadhur was likewise recalled, and instructed to prepare for his departure; but he was ~~not~~ ~~permitted~~ to enter into a private negotiation for the settlement of the matter, without the participation of the British government, if he saw a favourable opportunity, and could effect it within a reasonable time.

The bringing of matters so suddenly to this issue completely disconcerted Bajee Rao and his council; for the Pêshwa's government was in no condition to enforce any part of his claims, except by means of the British; and the main-spring of his intrigues with the faction opposed to Gungadhur was, the hope held out to them of granting in their favour better terms of settlement than Gungadhur could obtain by our arbitration. The Resident having now made the Pêshwa's abandonment of all pretension of right to interfere with the Gykwar a condition of his exerting the British influence to obtain any thing from the present ministry of Brodera, while Bajee Rao firmly persisted in the resolution ~~not~~ to renounce the pretension, ~~the~~ ~~party~~ decided advantage; for he was at liberty either to join in insisting on the renunciation as a preliminary, and thus evade payment of any thing; or, by tendering a proposition for a separate adjustment on moderate terms, to save Bajee Rao from the supposed humiliation of publicly conceding the right to interfere. Every device was put in practice to induce Mr. Elphinstone to abandon this ground; but having once assumed it, and being sensible that, with a view to the maintenance of our existing influence and relations with the Gykwar, the right of a third power to interfere could on no account whatever be recognised, it was of course ~~impossible~~ to recede. The consequence was, that Bajee Rao and Trimbukjee

immediately changed their behaviour towards the savaga, and now endeavoured by every art to win him over, and to induce him to remain at the durbar, notwithstanding his recoil. In this object they were successful. They commenced by opening a negotiation with every appearance of cordiality, the object of which was, to compromise the whole of the Peshwa's ~~claim~~ past and to come, by the cession of territory yielding a revenue of seven lack of rupees. This mode of adjustment was suggested by the Sastree himself, in order to flatter Bajee Rao's known eagerness for the extension of his personal dominions; and certainly it was the most favourable one for the Gykwar interests that could possibly be made; for, besides arrears, the annual tribute claimed, amounted, including the commutation for military service, to upwards of twenty-four lack. Having this adjustment very much at heart, the Sastree resolved to stay and pursue the negotiation, without the participation of the British resident at Poona. Had there been occasion to refer to him, Mr. Elphinstone was of course prepared to resume the ground he had before made his stand upon; but so long as the treaty could be carried on without such a reference, he saw no objection to letting it take its own course.

In this manner passed the month of March, with the dismissal of the Sastree. The negotiation continued open through the whole of April; in the course of which month, no effort was spared to win him over to the interests of the Poona court. The Peshwa's ~~intention~~ was offered to his son in marriage, and the chief ministry of the Peshwa's affairs, that is to say, the situation held by Suda-Sheeo-Bhao Mankeshur, was tendered to his acceptance. There can be no doubt that he was dazzled by these offers, and not only gave a favourable ear to them, but contracted a degree of intimacy with Trimbukjee, through whom ~~they were made~~, which was very unusual amongst natives of rank, and, considering the previous animosity on both sides,

rather extraordinary. In the month of May, Bajee Rao came to a determination to commence a series of pilgrimages, whereof the first was to be to Nassick near the source of the Godaveree. The negotiation for the marriage was at this time in a state of so much forwardness, as to induce the Peshwa to take his family with him to Nassick, and to make preparations to have the ceremony performed at that place; and in this idea the journey was commenced in May. In the mean time, however, Gungadhur had referred the proposed compromise of the claim on the Gykwar to Futteh Singh, the representative of Anund Rao, on whose part he rather unexpectedly met with a decided repugnance to a territorial cession of any extent, however limited. In the hope of surmounting this difficulty, he did not candidly explain it to the Peshwa's government, but commenced a series of evasions for the purpose of gaining time. He also put off the marriage on various pretexts, not wishing it to take place, unless the adjustment was likewise effected, which he daily found it more difficult to accomplish. This conduct had the appearance of slight; and the Sastree having refused to suffer his wife to visit the wife of Bajee Rao, on the ground of the notorious licentiousness that prevailed in the palace of the Peshwa, all these circumstances, superadded to the disappointment of failing to gain over a man so eagerly courted, produced a second change of disposition towards him, and revived the hatred that before subsisted in an aggravated degree, and with the further stimulus of personal pique for a private injury. Trimbukjee began to feel that he had committed his master in the matter of the marriage; to break off which, after the families had been brought to Nassick for the purpose, and after all the publicity of preparation, would bring ignominy on the head of the Mahratta nation. Bajee Rao, who was naturally of a suspicious and resentful temper, seems from this time to have vowed revenge, and found in his favourite a most willing in-

strument. A plan was accordingly laid for the assassination of the Sastree, and prosecuted with a depth of dissimulation, which astonished even Mahratta duplicity. The terms of intimacy that subsisted between Trimbukjee Dainglia, and the object of this plot had grown so extremely familiar, while matters were running smoothly on, that the former, in an unguarded moment of friendly conversation, acknowledged, that during their previous differences, he had resolved upon the other's destruction; and had even planned his death, in case he had taken his dismissal when Mr. Elphinstone began to press it. This had been communicated by the Sastree to Mr. Elphinstone during the journey to Nassick, and doubtless was enough to have put him on his guard, by showing the character of the man he had to deal with. Yet such was the art with which both Trimbukjee and his master continued their intercourse with him to the last, that although his destruction was meditated more than a month before it was put into execution, their victim never suspected any change of sentiment towards himself. When the Nassick pilgrimage was accomplished, he assented with the utmost confidence to Trimbukjee's suggestion of proceeding to Pundurpoor on the Bheema with a smaller equipage, and sent the greater part of his escort, and half the establishment of the mission, to wait his return at Poona. Particular anxiety was shown, that Bapoo Myral, a penetrating wary Mahratta, who had been associated with the Sastree in the mission, though in a subordinate character, should not accompany the court to Pundurpoor; but this was attributed to some ~~personal dislike~~, supposed to be entertained against him, rather than to fear of his prudence and foresight. It was a more important point to keep Mr. Elphinstone, who had attended the Pêshwa as far as Nassick, from proceeding further; but the resident needed no more, than to find that his attendance was not desired. While, therefore, the Pêshwa continued his route to Pundurpoor, this gentleman

took the opportunity of visiting the more venerable remains of Ellora, to which the caprice of modern superstition did not attach an equal sanctity.

About the end of June or the beginning of July, Bajee Rao and Trimbukjee set off from Nassik, taking the devoted Sastree in their train. It was given out, as upon certain information received from several quarters, particularly from Nâgpoor whence an agent had arrived, that a design had been formed against the Pêshwa's life, and that Patan assassins had been engaged at Hyderabad for the purpose, who were on their way to execute their commission. Parade was made of every possible precaution against this imaginary danger. Access to Bajee Rao became more and more difficult: and he travelled, quite contrary to his usual practice, surrounded by armed attendants. When the court arrived at Pundurpoor, these precautions were further increased; and the Sastree ascertained that Seeta-Ram's agent, Burdojee, had been again admitted to favour, and had come to Pundurpoor escorted by one of Trimbukjee's people. He complained of this, but had yet no suspicion of the designs against himself. On the 14th July, the Sastree had been at an entertainment given to the Pêshwa. On his return at night, feeling indisposed, he gave orders, that any one who should come with an invitation to go to the temple, should be told that he was unwell, and unable to attend. One Luchmun Punt came with such an invitation from Trimbukjee, and returned with that answer. The message was repeated, with notice, that as the Pêshwa himself remained in the morning, the crowd had retired, and he had better come immediately with a small retinue. The Sastree, still feeling unwell, refused a second time, but sent two of his suite in his place. On their arrival, Trimbukjee, who was waiting at the temple, said to one of them (Roujee Mahratta), "I have twice sent notice to the Sastree that he had better come to prayers now, but he refuses. I wish you would again try to persuade him." Roujee accordingly returned, and

Gangadhar Sastree, fearing he might offend Trimbukjee by a third refusal, set off with only seven unarmed attendants. On their way inquiries were overheard in a whispering tone: "which is the Sastree?" His attendants, in answer, pointed to the person that wore the necklace. This did not attract particular notice, having passed in the confusion of a crowd. Arrived at the temple, the Sastree performed his devotions, and continued some time in talk with Trimbukjee. On his return, he left three of his seven attendants, with an old family priest, whom he met at the temple, and walked back, escorted by a party of Trimbukjee's sepoys. He had not gone far, when three people came running up from behind, calling out to make room, and flourishing what seemed to be the twisted cloths used in clearing the way. On coming near the Sastree, one of them struck him from behind, and the blow proved to have been given with a sword. Others closed in from the front, and in an instant despatched him, wounding and putting to flight his four attendants. The *Gooroo**, who was following from the temple with the other three, came up while the flambeaux which had been thrown away were still smoking, and found the body shockingly mangled. They had met five men with drawn swords running back to the temple, where they had left Trimbukjee just before they drew near to the spot. Indeed, there could be no doubt that Trimbukjee had contrived and superintended the assassination. His conduct, when applied to next day by the Sastree's people, who demanded an investigation for the discovery of the murderers, ~~was not sufficient to~~ his guilt. He said it was impossible to discover upon whom to fix suspicion, for the Sastree had many enemies, as for instance, Seeta Ram, who was under restraint at Brodera, and Kanojee, one of the Gykwar family confined by the English in the Carnatic, avoiding, however, the least mention of Burdojee and Bhagwant, though

* Family priest.

the former was known to be at Pundurpoor at the time. The Sastree's people got leave next day to return to Poona, where the rest of the mission was with Bapoo Myral; and it was intimated to them, that there was no necessity for their again approaching either the Pêshwa's or Trimbukjee's quarters. In the mean time, Bajee Rao, who heard of the murder the night of its occurrence, redoubled the precautions for his personal safety. Trimbukjee too never went out without a strong guard; both evidently apprehensive of retaliation. Not only was no investigation set on foot, but the matter was prohibited to be talked of; and spies were employed to give notice of such as offended in this respect, who were apprehended under Trimbukjee's authority. Bujdojee and Bhugwunt came openly to Poona, where they lived without privacy or concealment.

With these events, the month of July 1815 was brought to a close. The proceedings instituted on the part of the British Government, in consequence of this murderous outrage, will furnish the contents of a separate chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

POONA CONTINUED.

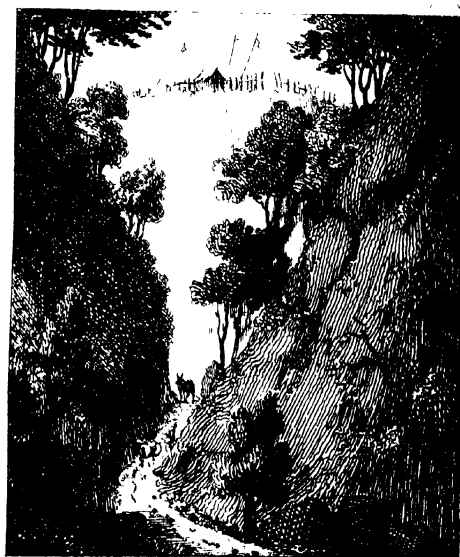
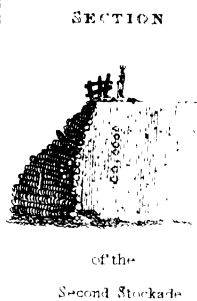
1815. AUGUST TO DECEMBER.

Resident—his resolves—returns to Poona—obtains proof against Trimbukjee—demands audience—presents a memorial—charging Trimbukjee—calls subsidiary force from frontier—Bajee Rao hesitates—asks proof—evades receiving it—Gykwar mission threatened—attempts to screen Trimbukjee—Hyderabad force called in—expedients offered and refused—instructions arrive—second memorial thereon—demand of Trimbukjee's surrender—Pêshwa's irresolution—seizure of Trimbukjee and surrender—reflections—effect in Guzerât.

MR. ELPHINSTONE was at Ellora, when he heard of the Sastree's violent death, and of the suspicions attaching upon Trimbukjee. though the circumstances were transmitted only by vague and indistinct report, ^{*}He immediately saw the necessity of taking a decided part. The deceased was the avowed minister of an ally of the British Government, who had come to a friendly court under the security of a special guarantee, for the purpose of assisting at an adjustment, which that government had undertaken and been called upon to make. Therefore, although the British Government was no further a party to the negotiation, in which he had latterly been concerned, than is implied in his having entered upon it with the knowledge and tacit consent of the British representative, still nothing had occurred to annul the personal guarantee, on the security of which the Gykwar minister had ventured within the precincts of the Poona court. Under this impression, Mr. Elphinstone no sooner heard of the manner of his death, than he addressed a letter to the Pêshwa, expressive of his concern at the event,



Second Stockade



Third Stockade

SKETCHES OF THE GOORKHA DEFENCES IN THE NIMROD-GHAT PASS

London: Published by J. Murray, 1860



A. New Bridge
B. Forts on ruins
C. Master Battery, British Force

D. Master Battery, British Force
E. British entrenchment

F. Jithuk
G. Advanced Battery, British Force

H. First Battery, British Force

British Encampment

STOCKADED POSITION OF THE GOORKHAS AT JITHUK.

London: Published by J. Murray, 1860

and demanding a rigorous investigation, with a view to the speedy detection and punishment of the murderers ; he at the same time forwarded the intelligence to the Governor-General, soliciting special instructions for his guidance in every possible event ; and expressing his intention, in the interim, to hasten back to Poona, and, if his examination of the Sastree's people should fix the guilt on Trimbukjee, and it should be found inexpedient to wait the arrival of instructions, immediately to accuse that favourite, and demand of the Pêshwa his arrest and trial, in vindication of the insult offered to the British name and authority. He did not think it necessary or advisable to travel out of his way, in order to fix upon Bajee Rao himself a charge of participation ; conceiving it more prudent, and, at the same time, quite as effectual for the sake of example, that the prince's minister and favourite, the adviser and instrument of the act, should be visited with the entire responsibility. Having formed this resolution, and called back the subsidiary force from Jâlna, where it was then cantoned, to Seroor, in order to be prepared for the worst, the Resident directed his assistant, who had remained behind at Poona, to offer his unqualified protection to the remainder of the Gykwar mission, and even, if it should be necessary, to announce a rupture of the subsisting alliance with the Pêshwa, as the consequence of any further attempt at violation. He then set off direct for Poona, where he arrived on the 6th of August. On the route, he met groups of pilgrims returning from Pundurpoor, all of whom agreed in giving the same account of the transaction, and in ascribing the perpetration of it to Trimbukjee. The Sastree was a Brahmin * of the highest caste, and of great reputation for sanctity of character ; the manner of his death, therefore, in a holy city, in the midst of a pilgrimage, at

* For some account of the sacrilegious horror, with which the Hindoos regard the murder of a Brahmin, the European reader is referred to the narrative of Nerayun Rao's murder by his uncle Ragoonath, contained in Forbes' Oriental Memoirs.

which myriads were collected, and in the very precincts of the temple of their resort, had inflamed the superstitious minds of all who witnessed it with more than ordinary horror and detestation of the crime. Returning to their homes in every direction, they communicated their feeling wherever they went, till it became the general sentiment of the Mahratta nation and Hindoo sect, to a degree quite unusual in a country, where the means of diffusing information are so limited. Arrived at Poona, Mr. Elphinstone made a very particular examination of the Sastree's people, and of every one likely to afford evidence or information. The result was, the clear establishment of the facts and circumstances above related; and the evidence was so minute and consistent in all its parts, as not to leave a shadow of doubt in respect to Trimbukjee's direct participation and actual superintendence of the assassination.

Mean time, Trimbukjee and his master had augured from the resident's demand of investigation, as well as from the protection afforded to the remainder of the Gykwar mission, and the whole conduct of Mr. Elphinstone, that it was his resolution to take a decided course in the matter of the Sastree's murder. Both were consequently in the utiaost alarm and suspense respecting his intentions, and began immediately to raise troops, and take every possible precaution for their personal safety. Trimbukjee hurried home to Poona, where he arrived on the 7th August at night. One of his personal adherents, who had charge of the city in his absence, had waited on Mr. Elphinstone in the course of the day, apparently to sound his intentions; but on being directly questioned as to what investigation had taken place, and how it was that Bhugwuñt Rao and Bu^udojee were living at large, he was confused, and could give no answer. The Pêshwa himself entered Poona on the 9th by stealth, under cover of the night, in a close palanquin, without previous notice, without the troops being drawn out, or any one's going forth to

meet him. This was the more extraordinary, because it was the day of the Dukshina* festival, when money is bountifully distributed among the Brâhmins, thousands of whom were collected for the purpose; and the Pêshwas had never yet been known to fail of presiding at the largess.

The whole city was in alarm at these unusual demonstrations. The rest of the Gykwar mission under Bapoo Myral were shunned by every one, and apparently regarded as victims already devoted to destruction. In vain were the utmost efforts made to quiet their fears. In this state of things, Mr. Elphinstone saw the necessity of taking his measures without waiting the Governor-General's orders, which, at the earliest, could scarcely arrive in a month from that date; an interval that would have allowed Trimbukjee to complete his preparations, and to remove, intimidate, or cut off the witnesses, and must infallibly have driven the Pêshwa to make common cause with his minister; since, while the suspense continued, they both had common fears. On the 11th August, therefore, the resident demanded an audience, which was refused on the ground of indisposition. The demand was repeated next day, and evaded on the pretext, that an infant daughter had died, which rendered his highness impure for three days. Unable longer to brook these subterfuges, especially as his object was to remove the cause of them, by relieving Bajee Rao from his state of suspense and personal alarm, he resolved to send a written note, which he had drawn out to be presented at the audience, in case one could have been procured. The paper was sent to Suda Sheeo Bhão, the usual channel of communication before Trimbukjee's late appointment; but he declined to present it, as did every other minister that was applied to. At last Mr. Elphinstone resolved to send his Moonshee with it openly, but

* For an account of this festival, see Scott-Waring.

all means of getting it delivered were still unsuccessful. Two people came, however, on the Pêshwa's part, apparently to sound the resident as to its contents. He accordingly opened himself so far as to let it be seen, that the paper only affected Trimbukjee, and that Bajee Rao was not personally involved in the charge, and would be so only in the event of his continuing to countenance and support that favourite. After this explanation, the written paper * obtained a reception on the 15th August. It began with expressing a conviction, that the Pêshwa must have been desirous of revenging the foul murder of a foreign minister and a Brahmin like himself, had his ministers suffered the truth to reach his ears; but as it was evident they had not done so, and, under the circumstances, could not be expected so to do, it had become necessary that it should reach his highness through an unbiassed channel, on which account the British resident addressed him upon the matter. The memorial proceeded to charge Trimbukjee with direct participation in the murder of Gungadhur Sastree, showing how the universal voice of the nation marked him out as the guilty person, while the circumstances of the transaction, his uniform conduct before and after it, his suppression of all investigation, even after it had been demanded by the British resident, and his actual encouragement of those, who would otherwise have been objects of suspicion, brought the charge home to him in

* Those who would ascertain the real merits of Indian diplomacy, and would possess themselves of the secret necessary to those employed in such negotiations, for baffling the arts, deceptions, and subterfuges of the treacherous Mahratta and wily Brahmin, should obtain the perusal of Mr. Elphinstone's unassuming account of his part in these negotiations, in the record of his original correspondence with the Indian government. It is to be hoped these valuable papers will not be for ever withheld from public curiosity. The whole of the account here given of the Poona affairs is but a meagre abstract of that correspondence. Mr. Elphinstone's letter of the 16th of August, on that part of the transactions now detailing, is perhaps as interesting a document as ever found its way into a record-office.

the clearest and most undeniable manner. After recapitulating the proofs, it thus continued :—" On all these grounds, I declare " my conviction of Trimbukjee Dainglia's guilt, and I call upon " your highness to apprehend him, as well as Govind Rao Bur- " dojee and Bhugwunt Rao Gykwar, and to deposit them in " such custody as may be considered safe and trustworthy. Even " if your highness is not fully convinced of the guilt of these " persons, it must be admitted, that there is sufficient ground " for confining them ; and I only ask of you to do so, until his " excellency the Governor-General and your highness shall have " an opportunity of consulting on the subject. I have only to " add my desire, that this apprehension may be immediate. A " foreign ambassador has been murdered in the midst of your " highness' court. A Brahmin has been massacred, almost in " the temple, during one of the greatest solemnities of your " religion ; and I must not conceal from your highness, that the " impunity of the perpetrators of this enormity has led to im- " putations not to be thought of against your highness' govern- " ment. Nobody is more convinced of the falsehood of such " insinuations than I am ; but I think it my duty to state them, " that your highness may see the necessity of refuting calumnies " so injurious to your reputation. I beg you also to observe, " that while Trimbukjee remains at large, his situation enables " him to commit further acts of rashness, which he may under- " take on purpose to embroil your highness with the British " Government. He is at the head of the administration at " Poona, and has troops at his command. He is likewise in " charge of your highness' districts, which are contiguous to the " possessions of the British Government, the Nizam and the " Gykwar ; and, even though he should raise no public dis- " turbances there, I cannot but consider with uneasiness and " apprehension, in what manner your highness' affairs will be " conducted. For these reasons, it is absolutely necessary, that

“ immediate steps should be taken ; as your highness will be
“ held responsible by the Governor-General for any acts of
“ violence, which Trimbukjee may commit after this intimation.
“ I therefore again call on your highness to adopt the course
“ which I have pointed out to you, as the only one which can
“ restore confidence to the public ministers deputed to your
“ court. They cannot otherwise enjoy the security necessary
“ to transact business with your highness ; nor can they with
“ safety even reside in the city : and every body will be obliged
“ to take such steps as he may deem necessary for his own pro-
“ tection. One consequence of this will be, an interruption
“ of your communication with the British Government, until
“ the measure I have recommended shall be adopted. I beg
“ that your highness’s reply may be communicated through
“ some person unconnected with Trimbukjee Dainglia.” The
memorial concluded with assuring his highness, that the British
Government had no design whatever of interfering with the
freedom of his choice of a successor to Trimbukjee, or with
the independence of his internal administration ; which the
Pêshwa might perhaps have suspected was the ulterior object of
this attack on his minister.

Nothing could have been better adapted to work on Bajee
Rao’s hopes and fears, and induce him to screen himself by
sacrificing his favourite, than this memorial. The subsidiary
force marched into its cantonment at Seroor on the 17th of
August. Mr. Elphinstone had taken the precaution of strength-
ening the brigade of this force, which was regularly cantoned at
Poona, by having another battalion marched in, as if to relieve
one of those composing the brigade. But as soon as the me-
morial was received, he suffered the relieved battalion to join
the main body at Seroor, thinking such a display of confidence
would have a good effect this time.

The Pêshwa was evidently embarrassed and irresolute. He

sent a messenger to say ~~that~~ he was considering the memorial, and to propose a distant day for an interview. The resident declared himself particularly desirous of an audience, but intimated that he could not go to the palace, if he was to meet Trimbukjee there and at large. A day or two afterwards, a message came from the Pêshwa, through Suda Sheeoo Bhão, declaring that Bajee Rao believed Trimbukjee innocent, but that if Mr. Elphinstone would undertake to prove the three distinct invitations, he would have him arrested. That gentleman at once closed with the proposal; but, though he did not cease to press the execution of the Pêshwa's part of this offer, it was perpetually evaded. The excuse set up by Trimbukjee for not ordering an immediate investigation on the night of the murder, was, that he was so busy sweeping the temple, that he did not hear of it in time. He thus admitted his having been at the spot, whence the assassins issued, and to which they were seen to return after the act was perpetrated.

During this discussion, the situation of Bapoo Myral and the rest of the Gykwar mission became very critical. Mr. Elphinstone had, some days before, advised their coming and encamping close by the residency; but Bu~~do~~dojee and Trimbukjee had been tampering with the escort, and had gained over the greater part, so that a strict watch was set on all their motions. On pretence of sending off the Sastree's children and family, the whole were marched a little way out of the city without disturbance; but when it was proposed to move next morning to the residency, the escort broke out into open mutiny, and, under the pretext of demanding an advance of pay, surrounded Bapoo Myral and his people in such a manner, that escape was impossible. The difficulty of their position was manifest; but to have attempted a rescue by the British troops at Poona, would infallibly have produced the massacre of the whole; —the excuse of some disturbance being all that was needed to

bring matters to this extremity. ~~He~~ contented himself, therefore, with sending his guarantee of what money Bapoo Myral might promise; and, with this security, the latter was enabled to win over half the mutineers, and to get quit of the other half without bloodshed. The arrangement, however, cost a lack and a quarter, which was advanced by the resident in bills on the Gykwar treasury.

On the 20th August, hearing that the levy of troops was going on with increased activity, Mr. Elphinstone remonstrated, declaring, that if this measure were not discontinued, he should be obliged to call in the subsidiary force to Poona, and take such measures for his own security, and for the interests of his government, as must lead to a rupture. In reply, a bullying message was received, stating, that however desirous the Pêshwa was to preserve the alliance, the person accused in this case was one of the greatest consequence, having 10,000 horse and 5000 foot at his devotion, besides fifty or sixty forts, and a territory yielding seventy-five lack of rupees; that therefore it was necessary to proceed with caution, as there were many difficulties in the way of the course recommended by the resident. Direct attempts were at the same time made to intimidate and buy off the witnesses, whose evidence was known to constitute the proof possessed by Mr. Elphinstone. A further message was sent, declaring it not to be conformable even to English law to imprison before conviction; and that as yet no proof had been offered, that the assassins were in Trimbukjee's service, or otherwise connected with him. These, and other arguments verbally adduced, were answered at length in a written communication, the matter of which it would be superfluous to detail.

In the mean time, the indications of an intention on the part of Bajee Rao, either to make common cause with the favourite, or to abet his flight into the country, where, under

the pretext of rebellion, he might place the resources of the Poona state in direct hostility to the British Government, were growing daily more strong and conclusive. Mr. Elphinstone in consequence applied to have the Hyderabad force marched from the valley of Berar to Jâlna, where it might be in readiness to act according to occasion. This application was nearly simultaneous with Mr. Russell's recall of that force to Hyderabad, for the settlement of the disturbance then excited by the princes. Hoping, however, that nothing serious would arise at that court, the resident at Poona repeated his request for a light force at least, to take up the pursuit, in case Trimbukjee should fly before Colonel L. Smith, the commandant of the Poona subsidiary force. The Hyderabad commotion having subsided altogether in the interim, the whole of Colonel Doveton's army moved upon Jâlna at this requisition.

During the remainder of August, attempts were made by the Pêshwa to induce the resident to forego his demand of Trimbukjee's arrest, by the offer of several expedients, none of which went further, than that the accused should absent himself from court and from Poona, pending the judicial investigation of his guilt or innocence, and lose his office. Of course none of these offers could be listened to; but he waited with some anxiety the receipt of the first orders on the subject from the Governor-General, before taking any further step. Those orders arrived on the 1st of September. They had been made out immediately on receipt of the first intelligence of the murder, which had been despatched from Ellora about the end of July, and had reached the Marquess of Hastings at Futtehgurh, in the middle of August. His Lordship's instructions, assuming that there would be found sufficient evidence to fix the crime on Trimbukjee, had provided specifically for every possible case of his surrender, or support by his master. In the event of his being delivered up for trial and punishment at the resident's

requisition, the British representative was authorised to gratify the Pêshwa, if necessary, with an assurance that the life of the offender was not sought by the British Government, and that perpetual confinement would be the utmost severity exercised. But, in the event of that prince's refusing to bring his favourite to trial, or of his affecting to consent to an investigation, and taking underhand means to render it nugatory, or of his refusing to deliver him up to punishment after the establishment of his guilt, Bajee Rao was to be held distinctly and personally responsible for the act: so, likewise, if he should abet Trimbukjee's escape from Poona, in order to raise the country, unless the flight should be attended with such circumstances as should acquit his Highness of any knowledge or participation. In the event of this responsibility being incurred, all communication was to be stopped, and preparations made to secure his person, or at least to prevent his leaving the capital; but extreme measures were not to be resorted to, unless it should be hazardous to delay, or absolutely necessary to anticipate his Highness's designs. A letter was addressed to the Pêshwa himself by the Governor-General, in further support of the Resident's proceedings, which it was left to his discretion to present or not as he might deem expedient.

Thus assured of the Governor-General's unqualified support in the course he had adopted upon his own judgment, Mr. Elphinstone prepared a second memorial, which he delivered on the 4th of September, together with the Marquess of Hastings' letter. This memorial began by setting forth the tenor of the instructions just received, and declaring Bajee Rao to have already incurred the responsibility adverted to in the Governor-General's letter, by systematic neglect of all investigation, and by evasion of the demand for the arrest of Trimbukjee preparatory to his trial and punishment: it proceeded to require the immediate delivery of Trimbukjee to the British Govern-

ment, alleging his instructions to warrant the demand of capital punishment; but, out of regard for his Highness, and because he (the resident) thought the expression of his Highness's anxiety might yet prevail with the Governor-General to spare his life, he should be contented with his delivery, until the receipt of further orders. The memorial went on to declare the alternative of a refusal of this demand to be, a suspension of all communication, and the calling in of the troops to Poona, where Mr. Elphinstone stated his intention still to remain, until he should be made acquainted with the ulterior wishes of the Governor-General, unless an attempt on the part of his Highness to leave Poona, or the continued levy of troops by his Highness, should render active hostility necessary in the interim.

Up to this time, Mr. Elphinstone had contented himself with demanding that the Pēshwa should himself hold Trimbukjee in restraint, until his trial should take place, as had been offered by Bajee Rao himself. The advance of this demand to that of the unqualified surrender of the accused to the British Government had become absolutely necessary: for, with the disposition evinced by the Poona prince, it was evident that any investigation; which might now be set on foot by his authority, would be the merest mockery in the world. It was most fortunate, that the Governor-General's instructions, warranting such an advance of demand, arrived at the particular juncture; for Bajee Rao was still evidently hesitating between the surrender of his favourite and the rupture of the alliance; and the obloquy attending the former alternative seemed to have by far the most weight with him. At one time he had resolved to make common cause with Trimbukjee, and relays of horses had been placed for their joint flight from the capital; from which course he was dissuaded only by Gokla, a southern jageerdar, and one of the best military officers in his service. The second memorial of the 4th of September, with the Governor-General's

letter, found the Pêshwa in this state of suspense; and it was further communicated, on the part of the Resident, that unless Trimbukjee should be seized in the course of the following day, the alternative threatened would be resorted to. His eyes seem to have been opened by this communication to the real danger of his situation. Nearly the whole of the night of the 4th of September was spent in consultation with the Bhão, Gokla, and another person high in confidence, viz. Balooba, dewan of the Vinshor jageerdar. On the following morning the Bhão was sent with a message, that his Highness would confine Trimbukjee, on the condition that neither his life nor his surrender should be demanded. Mr. Elphinstone returned for answer, that he could hear nothing until the offender was seized. However, he thought it right to explain to the Bhão, that he conceived the surrender of Trimbukjee to the British Government, and of Buydojee and Bhugwunt to that of the Gykwar, would satisfy all parties, and set the whole affair at rest; that no advantage would be taken of any disclosures by Trimbukjee after his confinement, and that the investigation should be urged no further. These assurances seemed to be necessary to quiet Bajee Rao's personal apprehensions. The result of the conference was reported by the Bhão, the same morning, and the whole of this day also was spent in consultation. In the night, it was resolved to send Trimbukjee to a hill fort, and the selection being left to him, he was sent off to Wusuntgurrh, under an escort of 200 Arabs and a body of horse. The Bhão next morning waited upon the Resident, to acquaint him with what had been done, and to request that the Gykwar negotiation might be re-opened, and every thing go on as before. Mr. Elphinstone declared, that now Trimbukjee was in confinement, the Pêshwa must be answerable that he did not escape or create disturbances; but that, before the matter could be considered as settled, he must be actually given up to the British Govern-

ment, according to the demand made and the present instructions of his own court, for that he daily expected further orders; in answer to subsequent communications, those now acted upon having been issued before the late evasive conduct of his Highness was known; and he could not answer for what the next might contain: that, when received, he should be obliged to obey them to the letter, however injurious to his Highness's interests, unless the present demand should have been complied with in the interim; in which case, he should of course suspend their execution, till the Governor-General was informed of the compliance with his first demand. The confinement of Trimbukjee was believed throughout Poona to be a mere device to gain time; and the mode of it, together with the continuance in office of all his adherents, confirmed this impression.

The Bhão returned on the 7th of September, with an endeavour, by working on Mr. Elphinstone's feelings, to induce him to forego the demand for the delivery of Trimbukjee's person. He claimed himself the merit of having induced the Pêshwa to confine that favourite, stating that he had succeeded only by engaging personally that this would satisfy the British Resident. If, therefore, the further demand were still persisted in, he was himself in a dilemma, from which poison alone could extricate him. It was hardly credible, that, knowing his sentiments and resolutions so fully as the Bhão must have done, he would so have pledged himself; but it was resolved, at all events, not to recede. The attempt was repeated next day with the same ill success: yet the Bhão survived his difficulties. Secret intrigues were also set on foot through every medium likely to have influence at the British Residency; but threats, entreaties, and persuasions were alike ineffectual. Levies of horse and foot were still making every where; and positive information was received, that it was the Pêshwa's intention to fly to the fort of Wye, and there raise the standard of the Mahratta empire. Mr.

Elphinstone accordingly resolved no longer to delay calling in the main body of the subsidiary force from Seroor, and gave the Pêshwa notice of his having done so. This produced a message of remonstrance through the Bhão, which was answered in such terms, as seemed most likely to fix the Pêshwa's wavering resolutions for the sacrifice of Trimbukjee. His surrender, it was announced, would be all the satisfaction expected; for that, except perhaps some atonement to the Gykwar for the murder of his minister, nothing further would be demanded by the British Government; that one word from his Highness now could accomplish this: but, if he hesitated much longer, or attempted to leave Poona, an amicable settlement would be no longer possible. While this message was on its way, the Pêshwa had sent for Major Ford, an officer of the Company's service, who had raised and disciplined a brigade of infantry for his Highness, as part of his contingent. On his arrival, he was left with Chimnajee, Bajee Rao's brother, and Moro Dikshet, a minister who latterly had been growing into favour. These two consulted him on the best means of re-establishing the former terms of intercourse; and on his recommending the delivery of Trimbukjee, as the only measure he could suggest, went with his advice into the next room, whence they brought his Highness' consent. The mode of his delivery was accordingly arranged. A party of Major Ford's brigade was to bring him from Wusuntgurb, and the Pêshwa (as the Resident was told next day) had no objection to a party of the British troops accompanying, but this was declined. At the close of the conference with the Major, Bajee Rao appeared in person, and confirmed what the other two had agreed to, requiring Major Ford's engagement, that the act of surrender should replace every thing on the former footing; and that any fresh orders from the Governor-General should be suspended, even should they arrive before he could acquaint Mr. Elphinstone. Gopál

Punt, the manager of the brigade business at court, accompanied Major Ford to the Residency, and carried back thence the assurance, that, on the delivery of Trimbukjee, every thing should revert to its former state ; and that, except perhaps some satisfaction to the Gykwar, which must still be left to the Governor-General's discretion, no further demand or proceeding should be instituted in consequence of the Sastree's murder.

On the 11th of September, 850 men of the brigade marched from Poona, under the command of Captain Hick ; and on the 19th they received charge of Trimbukjee ; along with whom Bhugwunt Rao and Govind Rao were delivered up at Poona, on the 25th ; and next day the three prisoners were sent down to Tanna fort in Salsette, under charge of a light battalion and a regiment of cavalry, from the subsidiary force. The main body of that force, under Colonel L. Smith, returned on the 29th to Seroor.

Thus was accomplished, by negotiation, without a rupture of the alliance, and entirely through the spirit, firmness, and diplomatic ability of the British Representative, the important object of vindicating the honour and reputation of his nation, which had received the grossest insult, in the murder of an ambassador, negotiating under its guarantee of protection. The Pêshwa had submitted to the humiliation of sacrificing his minister and favourite, in atonement for an act, which had evidently been committed with his concurrence and participation. He had in vain tried every artifice and subterfuge to avert or delay the moment of submission ; and when every attempt of this description had been baffled by the firmness and vigilance opposed to him, there can be no doubt that his inclination was, rather to risk a rupture of the alliance, than to submit. But his own good sense, and the representation of the Sirdars in whom he placed his principal trust, satisfied him of the present insufficiency of his means to cope single-handed with the British

power. It was evident, however, that henceforward we had nothing to expect but rancorous and malignant hate; and that the same fear, which had produced the important result on this occasion, would require to be constantly kept alive, in order to curb the natural bent of his mind. Mr. Elphinstone's conduct throughout the whole of this negotiation met with the Marquess of Hastings' particular approbation; and his Lordship felt, that the successful termination of the affair was mainly attributable to the prompt and decisive tone assumed and maintained from the outset to the close of the discussion.

On the whole perhaps it was fortunate, that the short sighted violence of Trimbukjee brought matters thus prematurely to a crisis between his master and the British Government. The uniform conduct of that favourite's administration, proceeding from ignorance, either real or affected, of the actual relations of the Pêshwa at this period, had already given rise to so many infractions of the subsisting engagements, and of the treaty of Bassein in particular, that it would have been impossible to have suffered them to pass much longer without notice*. His

* In proof of this it may be sufficient to mention, that, on the 27th of the preceding May, soon after the court arrived at Nassiik, the Resident had found it necessary to present a remonstrance against Trimbukjee's measures. The most important infraction of the treaty of Bassein was, a treaty made with a Gôandwana Raja, the preamble of which declared it to be offensive against both the Nizam and Bhoosla; this had been negotiated by Trimbukjee himself, after marching a hostile force into the Nizam's dominions and occupying several of his villages. The affair took place about the preceding February, when Trimbukjee had been sent with some troops in pursuit of the Pindara, Sheikh Duloo. The whole proceeding, however, was not only without the participation of the British Government, as required by the treaty of Bassein, but the troops had driven away an agent sent by the Resident to Nâgpoor, to endeavour to settle a boundary dispute, that had occurred in the neighbourhood between the officers of the Nizam and Bhoosla; and Trimbukjee had put himself in possession of the disputed lands. Many similar infractions of the subsisting engagements, which had been produced by the conduct of his agent at Ahmedabad, were also brought forward in this remonstrance. Mr. E. then

measures must soon have come to the pass of compelling the British Government to demand the displacement of the minister, as a pledge, that the frequent acts of offence, which had occurred under his administration, were without his Highness' countenance. In such an event, Trimbukjee would have been backed by popular feeling, and have been regarded as the victim of our displeasure, for honestly preferring his master's interests to ours ; and, at the other native courts, the Pêshwa would have made a strong case of the indignity put upon him, and represented it as a warning of the consequence of too close a connexion with a power so constituted as the British. In the issue, to which matters were brought by the Sastree's murder, we stood forth in the character of avengers of the death of a Brahmin ambassador, and had the full advantage of the popular voice on our side, even among the Pêshwa's own subjects. This favourable impression lasted beyond the immediate occasion ; insomuch that two years afterwards, when a rupture occurred with nearly all

attributed these acts rather to the ignorance and Mahratta habits of the favourite, than to any deliberate design of breaking with the British Government. But it cannot be denied, that the tone assumed at some of the discussions of that time was such as to indicate the most ambitious views. In one conference, the rights of the Pêshwa coming under discussion, Trimbukjee went so far as to assert his master's right to the *Chout* of Bengal, under the cession of Aleeverdee Khan, and to that of Mysore, agreed to by Hyder Alie : such was the temper of the man, who had been specially appointed a short time before to conduct the business on behalf of the Pêshwa with the British Representative at his court. The high favour he still enjoyed made it difficult not to identify the Pêshwa with his minister. Had the Mahratta powers risen against the English in the year 1814-15, there can be little doubt, that Bajee Rao would have seized the first occasion to shake off his subsidiary connexion with us and take his station amongst them : but he was not yet prepared to take the lead himself, and offer an example for their imitation in the manner he did in 1817-18. Naturally suspicious and timorous, he would probably have preferred to take no active part, until he had seen what success attended others. The bolder plan he ultimately adopted, he was goaded to by the continual loss and disappointment he incurred, in the prosecution of that course of insidious attack, which he commenced from this time forward.

the Mahratta states, the cause of the British nation derived a vast accession of strength in public opinion, from recollection of the foul murder of this Brahmin, in which the quarrel had originated ; and the indifference manifested upon the subsequent downfall of the Pêshwa's dynasty was owing, in a great measure, to its being regarded as a judgment on the reigning head of the family for his participation in this crime, polluted as he was already by the yet unexpiated murder of Nerayun Rao by his father Ragoonath.

The Sastree's death, as might have been expected, excited a considerable sensation throughout Guzerât. Futteh Singh and the party of the deceased, though they lamented the loss as irreparable, hoped from it, at any rate, the entire exoneration from all demands of the Poona government. On the other hand, the party in communication with Trimbukjee hoped, by his means and through the Pêshwa's influence and power, to bring about a revolution in the affairs of the court of Brodera. Seeta-Ram and his adherents were raising troops, and making preparations to act according to the turn events might take at Poona ; a body of men under a marauding chief in Seeta-Ram's interest approached from Dhar so near as Dawud ; and the two managers in Ahmedabad were acting in concert, and both levying horse and foot. Under these circumstances, the Bombay government had thought it advisable to detain the Guzerât force, which, on its presence becoming unnecessary in central India, had before been destined to the adjustment of affairs in Kutch, whence some of the border tribes had been latterly in the habit of making predatory incursions into Guzerât. Every thing remained in a state of the most anxious suspense, until the amicable settlement of the discussions at Poona was known. It produced a simultaneous effect at Brodera and Ahmedabad. In the interim, Gungadhur Sastree's son was appointed to all

his father's offices, rather in demonstration of the sense entertained of the services of the deceased, than out of regard to any superior qualifications the son was thought to possess. After the delivery of Trimbukjee and the two agents of Seeta-Ram to the British authority, the two latter were transferred to the Gykwar, and confined in hill-forts within the dominions of that state. The Bombay government, however, resolved to prevent the occurrence of similar intrigues, by taking Seeta-Ram into their own custody; an arrangement to which the court of Brodera was not induced to accede without extreme difficulty.

The question of the degree of compensation to be afforded the Gykwar, for the murder of his minister and the representative of his court, was, in the following January, thus decided by the Governor-General, to whose arbitration it had been referred. Assuming the surrender of Trimbukjee, the actual perpetrator, to be an entire exculpation of the Pêshwa's government from any share or participation in the act, his Highness was declared to be exonerated from further responsibility, and, therefore, from the obligation to offer any specific atonement to the offended state. The resident was, however, instructed to endeavour by persuasion to lead his Highness to make some handsome provision for the family of the Sastree, as a spontaneous act of generosity: for the supreme government did not conceive itself to possess a right to make a special demand on this head. As a natural consequence of this view of the question, the negotiation for the settlement of the Pêshwa's claims on the Gykwar was directed to be re-opened at the point where it had been broken off, in the same manner as if the murder had never taken place. The Pêshwa occasionally revived it, but with little sincerity or interest; his mind being apparently engrossed with the prosecution of an object nearer his heart, which, from this time, he will be found to have pursued with more consistency and

determination ; viz. * to bring about a general and secret combination of the Mahratta princes, directed against the British ascendancy. In the course of the negotiations respecting the surrender of Trimbukjee, Mr. Elphinstone was more than once assured that such a thing had been in agitation in the preceding season ; but the Poona Government assumed to itself credit for having abstained from giving direct encouragement to the project. Bajee Rao certainly was not then prepared to put every thing to hazard on such a risk ; but from this time he seems to have resolved to do so, and himself to head the confederacy, as soon as it should be organized.

While these events were passing at Poona, and, indeed, during the remainder of the year 1815, nothing of moment occurred at any of the courts of southern and central India. It was ascertained, however, that confidential agents, men of family and name amongst the Mahrattas, were still intriguing at each Mahratta durbar, with such secrecy, that the object of the intrigues could only be gathered from suspicion and rumour. Bajee Rao occupied himself in incessant endeavours to obtain, through Mr. Elphinstone, the release of his captive favourite ; but all his efforts directed to this end were of course unavailing. In January 1816, the Governor-General addressed a letter to his Highness, in such terms, as it was thought would be most effectual to extinguish all hope, that the British Government would ever consent either to release or give up the custody of this eminent offender.

* This design originated at an earlier period. By confession of Trimbukjee, the conspiracy was in progress before the arrival of the Sastree at Poona.

CHAPTER V.

NIPÁLESE—PINDAREES.

1815-16, MAY TO MAY.

Negotiations with Nipâl—terms offered—Cession of Terace refused—Demand modified—hesitation—Treaty signed—Ratification refused—War renewed—Ochterlony takes the command—penetrates the first range of hills—Battle of Mukwanpoor—Nipálese submit—Peace—Reflections—Pindarees—second reference to England—Army reduced—Operations of Pindarees—party surprised—successful expedition—second—British provinces ravaged with impunity—Concert of Pindarees with Mahrattas—intrigues of 1815-16—Holkar's court—Amcer-Khan.

AFTER the settlement of the affairs of Hyderabad and Poona, the negotiations with Nipâl were the object which most engrossed the attention of the Supreme Government. Those negotiations had been opened at the close of the first campaign in the preceding May; Gujraj Misur, the Gooroo (family priest) of the Raja, having come down to the army in Sarun, with powers under the red seal for the purpose. The loss of the whole of the hills west of the Gogra, it seems, had opened the eyes of the Goorkha Chiefs to the real danger of a war with the British, and had proved, that the confidence of security in the ruggedness of their mountains was a vain illusion. The leading party amongst them was, consequently, desirous of peace, and anxious to know the terms on which it would be granted.

The Marquess of Hastings' conditions were hard enough; the perpetual cession of all the hill country taken in the campaign, and as well of such parts of the low land as were in dispute before the war, as of the whole line of Terace to the

very foot of the hills. A fort and territory, which had been seized from the Sikkim Raja before the war, was also demanded; for, having in the course of it formed an alliance with that Raja, and taken him under protection, we had become pledged to restore the integrity of his dominions. Besides these terms, a resident was to be received at Katmāndhoo, which, to their prejudices, appeared the first stage towards absolute subjection. Immediately on learning these conditions, the Gooroo broke off the negotiation, declaring he could not treat on the basis of any ~~cession~~ cession of the low land, except perhaps the disputed tracts. In its desire for accommodation, and from a hope of being less hardly pressed by other negotiators, the Goorkha government had made a second overture through the late Chief of Almora, Bumsah, who was in communication with the Honourable E. Gardner, the British commissioner for the management of the conquered province. This also was broken off on the same ground. In August the negotiation was re-opened by the Gooroo; and it having been ascertained, that the main objection to giving up the Terrace was, that most of the principal officers of the court of Katmāndhoo enjoyed considerable jageers in that territory, the Marquess of Hastings was induced to offer the grant of similar possessions, or of an equivalent in money pensions to the amount of two or three lack of rupees, to be left at the distribution of the Goorkha court. In September, the Gooroo again broke off the negotiation on the same ground, declaring, that the Goorkha Chiefs would never accede to a cession of the Terrace or low land, which was alleged to be the main source of their subsistence, the hills themselves being comparatively unproductive.

It seemed evident from what had passed, that the demand of the Terrace was a bar to the re-establishment of peace, which no advantage we had to offer in any other shape, could compensate to the Goorkha government. Its repugnance to this cession

was solely owing to the estimate of its pecuniary value at present entertained by the court of Katmāndhoo, and was not in the least ascribable to any feeling of pride, or objection to the humiliation of the cession. The British Government, on the contrary, insisted on the demand, rather from a sense of honour, and a desire to visit with marked severity the act of gross violence and insult, which had arisen out of former disputes about the Terace, and had been the immediate cause of the war, than from any expectation of profit from the lands. The experience of a season's occupation of a considerable portion of them proved them to be of extremely difficult management and inconsiderable advantage in revenue; while the climate was so noxious, as to render the continuance of troops, and even of civil officers upon them, utterly impracticable for one-half the year. Under these circumstances, the supreme government, balancing the advantage of a restoration of peace against the gratification of forcing on the Goorkhas the sacrifice of an object extremely valuable to them, and only so to us in an inconsiderable degree, came to the resolution of relaxing the rigour of the original demand. A draft of a treaty was accordingly prepared and transmitted to Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw, appointed to negotiate on the Sarun frontier, to be delivered openly to the Gooroo, in case of his expected re-appearance with a fresh overture; accompanied by a declaration, that it contained the only terms on which the British Government were willing to make peace with the Nipāl state. In this draft, the Terace from the Kalee, a branch of the Gogra, to the Gunduk, was all that was insisted on, and of the rest so much only as was in our actual possession. Pensions to the extent of two lack were still offered to the Sirdars of the court; and a stipulation to that effect was contained in one of the articles of the draft. When this draft was submitted to the Gooroo, and to Chundur Seekur Opadhea, another Brahmin associated with him to treat on the part of

Nipál, they declared without hesitation, that they did not feel themselves competent to accede to such terms, without first submitting them to their court. They promised, however, that a definitive answer should be returned in fifteen days. The period expired, yet no instructions had been received. It was ascertained also, that the deliberations on the acceptance or rejection of these terms had occasioned some ferment at Katmândhoo. The stipulation for the allotment of pensions was particularly obnoxious and unpopular with one party, which represented it as placing the Raja's subjects and ministers in direct dependence on a foreign power. At the head of this party stood Umáí Singh and his sons, who had lately returned to Katmândhoo, after the total loss of their provinces west of the Ganges. They had opposed the commencement of the war, as promising little success; but now it had been begun, were for continuing it to the last extremity. The Goorkha negotiators being unable to redeem their pledge by producing the definitive answer of the Raja within the time specified, offered a submissive apology, but begged the negotiation might not be finally broken off, until they should have proceeded to Katmândhoo and ascertained the cause. The Gooroo offered at the same time to sign the treaty provisionally, if the portion of the Teraee occupied by the British between the Koosa and Gunduk were substituted for the pensions proposed. This was refused, and the negotiation broken off; but the Goorkha negotiators declared, that they would return in twelve days with the treaty signed. This occurred on the 29th October.

The Supreme-Government, on hearing of the continued reluctance on the part of the Nipálese, called on the several authorities in charge of the contiguous districts, for their opinion of the value of the several portions of the Teraee occupied by its officers since the commencement of the war, and the means of obtaining a good frontier line, by the retention of part only

of what had been acquired ; thus preparing itself to make some further gratuitous concessions, either in lieu of the pensions, or in addition to them, in order better to gratify the Goorkha chiefs, and to leave them in a disposition to execute and maintain the treaty when made. In the mean time, however, Gooroo Gujraj Misur returned from Katmândhoo, and signed the treaty according to the draft before submitted to his court. This was done at Segoulee on the 28th November ; and, by the terms of it, the ratification of the Raja was to be delivered in fifteen days. On being apprized of this event, the Supreme-Government determined notwithstanding, to make those further concessions which had before been in agitation ; and it was considered fortunate, that the execution of the treaty without them would most decisively ~~make the concessions~~ to be a gratuitous act of bounty towards a fallen and suppliant foe : while their conciliatory effect on the Goorkha Sirdars would be much enhanced ~~by their~~ not feeling themselves indebted for them to their own successful obstinacy, either in war or in negotiation.

The fifteen days, however, expired, without any appearance of the ratified treaty : and it was ascertained, in the course of December, not only that the Gooroo would fail to produce it, but that the war faction had prevailed, and, in consequence, that preparations were making for the recommencement of active hostility, and positions in the forest of the Terrace already taken up. The fact, indeed, was, that having in the past season baffled entirely the feeble attempts made by the British commanders on the Sarun and Gôrukpoor frontiers to penetrate into the mountains east of the Gogra, which now formed their whole remaining dominions, the Nipâlese were not without a presumptuous confidence of their means of successful resistance for a much longer period ; and, though desirous of peace, the terms offered were such, that they hoped more advantage from the continuance of war. But not being altogether without

apprehension, it thenceforward became their game, to endeavour to amuse the British Government with hollow discussions and negotiations, in order, if possible, to get over the season without the renewal of active operations.

During the whole of the rains, the large body of troops cantoned in Bchar had been kept in readiness; and towards the close of them, Major-General Ochterlony had been called down from the westward to take the command, preparatory to an advance direct upon Katmándhoo, so soon as the passage of the forest should be practicable. Unfortunately, upon the signature of the treaty, the activity of preparation was a little relaxed; and the commissariat department, in particular, had been authorised, for the purpose of an early reduction of expense, to cut down the establishments provided for ~~the army~~, and to sell the greater part of the grain which had been stored in depôts: ~~in consequence~~ that when war became inevitable, there was reason to fear the efficiency of the force would be cramped by these efforts at economy. However, by dint of extraordinary exertion in every department, civil as well as military, the army was enabled to take the field in the Teraee by the end of January, without being delayed on this account. Perhaps no occasion ever produced a more satisfactory display of the real extent of the resources and energies of the local Indian administrations, when called forth by a popular commander in a popular cause. General Ochterlony hastened to the frontier, to assume the entire direction of political and military affairs in that quarter, under special orders for the purpose from the Supreme-Government. Before his arrival, the Gooroo, unable to produce the ratified treaty, had made a second visit to Katmándhoo; but, instead of returning with it, brought some new propositions, which of course were inadmissible after what had passed. The General accordingly dismissed the negotiators immediately on his arrival in the Teraee, making them the bearers of a letter

from the Governor-General to the Raja, expressive of his Lordship's sense of the insincere conduct of the Nipál government, and declaring the renewal of war in all its activity. General Ochterlony immediately pushed a portion of his force across the forest, which it passed without opposition, encamping at the foot of the Chereea-ghátee * pass, which leads from Bicheekah through the first range of hills, directly into the valley of Mukwanpoor. This pass, which was strong by nature, in common with all the passes of this mountainous tract, had been stockaded and well manned. The General, however, who followed close upon the advance, proceeded to make his dispositions for turning it; and, in a few days, led a light division in person across the range, by a very difficult pathway unknown even to the enemy. Nothing could exceed the patience, with which the toil and privations of this march were endured by the troops, many of whom were for two days almost wholly without provisions: the rapidity of the movement, added to the ruggedness of the ground, rendering it impossible to bring up the supplies. This judicious manœuvre produced the immediate evacuation of the pass, which was forthwith occupied by the main body of the army, which had continued encamped in front of it. After spending a few days in clearing and improving it, and in establishing a depôt and line of communication through it with the plains, the General marched direct upon Mukwanpoor, where the enemy's whole army was strongly stockaded. A simultaneous movement was arranged of two other columns of infantry: one to the west under Colonel Nicol of H. M. 66th, which, meeting with little opposition or difficulty, except from the ruggedness of the route, succeeded in joining the Major-General in the valley on the 29th February; and another under Colonel Kelly of H. M. 24th, which moved upon Hurreehurpoor, a strong hill fort, commanding a pass into the Mukwanee valley

* Vide plate at the head of this chapter.

eastward of Bicheekoh. On approaching this fort, Colonel Kelly observed an eminence that seemed to be within commanding distance of a stockade near the fort, from which a party of the enemy, that at first had occupied it, had been observed to retire. A detachment of light companies was immediately sent to seize the point; but they were no sooner in position, than the whole force of the Goorkhas advanced from the fort and other stockades to recover the ground they had abandoned. A severe struggle ensued, attended with some loss on the part of the British, and a very heavy one on that of the enemy: the position, however, was maintained until the arrival of reinforcements, when the Nipálese were driven back at all points. This affair took place on the first day of March, and the fort was evacuated very soon after.

Meanwhile, General Ochterlony had penetrated to the neighbourhood of Mukwanpoor, where his force had, on the 28th February, a rencontre with the enemy, precisely similar to that above described, but considerably more serious, from the greater numbers engaged on both sides. The companies which had been detached in the first instance to occupy a position* at Mukwanpoor, from which the Goorkhas had similarly retired, were very nearly overpowered, when the first reinforcement arrived; and, as the Goorkhas repeated their attacks each time in greater strength, it became necessary to reinforce the position in the same proportion, till, in the end, several battalions were employed, and the enemy were finally driven back ~~and~~ by the charge of one of them along the ridge. The whole of the Nipál army at Mukwanpoor, in number upwards of 3000 of their disciplined Sepoys, exclusive of their irregulars, was engaged in the course of this day; and by their own subsequent acknowledgment, their loss exceeded 800: that of the British amounted

* This point was a village, called Seekeeh Khutree, at the end of the ridge on which Mukwanpoor was situated, and along which the road ran. The Goorkha army was stockaded between it and the fort.

to 45 killed, amongst which was Lieutenant Tirrell, the officer who commanded the party sent to occupy the village in the first instance. There were also 175 wounded, including another British officer.

This trial of strength and exemplary failure reconciled the Nipálese to make a tender of unqualified submission. On the 3d March Khajee Buktawur Singh, one of their principal officers, wrote to the General, to say he had the ratified treaty in his possession, and would send it by Chundur Seekur. The General returned for answer, that the Goorkha government must not expect the same terms now, as before the recommencement of hostilities, but that he had no objection to receiving Chundur Seekur, if they thought fit to send him with full powers. In the interim, he pushed on his approaches to within 500 yards of the fort of Mukwanpoor, and threw up a battery in readiness to open upon it. Chundur Seekur soon appeared with the ratified treaty, and pressed it earnestly on the General's acceptance. The latter had previously resolved not to insist on harder terms, in case he found the enemy sufficiently humbled by their late reverses, to make it safe to rely on their sincerity.

Accordingly, on Chundur Seekur's arrival, having ascertained that the spirit of hostility was completely annihilated, and that unqualified submission was the course for which all parties were now prepared, the General accepted the treaty, explaining to Chundur Seekur, that whatever disposition the Supreme-Government might have had, before the late operations, to extend its bounty to the Nipálese beyond the letter of the engagement, the same must not be now expected. As the intention to exhibit a further generosity had been expressed to the Goorkha envoys after the Gooroo's signing the treaty of Segoulee, Chundur was called upon to give a specific note in writing, declaratory of his now having no such hopes, together with an assurance, that a similar declaration should be made in a letter under the

red seal, to the Governor-General. This was agreed to with the utmost readiness; and the General having accepted the treaty, the contest with the Nipâlese was thus brought to a final close in the beginning of March. Sir David Ochterlony waited to receive the orders for delivery of what remained to be ceded under the treaty, particularly the fort and district of Nagree and Nagurkoh, to the Raja of Sikkim, and the disputed lands in Gôrukpoor, which had not yet been occupied by us. He then returned with his army into Behar.

Preparations had been made to extend the military preparations above described, by a combined attack from the west, where Colonel Nicolls was to have penetrated into the hills by a pass from the Gôrukpoor district into the province of Sâlecana; while a force should move into Dotee from Almora, under Colonel Adams. This was, however, rendered unnecessary by the decisive activity of Sir David Ochterlony, which thus closed the campaign and the war, in the short space of little more than a month.

The articles of the treaty were punctually executed by the Goorkhas according to agreement. The Supreme-Government thought, notwithstanding what had passed, that it would be a politic act of conciliation, to cede such of the Teraee as had been before contemplated, in lieu of the pensions stipulated in the treaty; accordingly the Governor-General, after every article had been executed, gave notice to the Raja of his intention to send the Honourable E. Gardner as resident, and to empower him to conclude an arrangement on this basis. It was subsequently carried into effect. That part of the Teraee, which skirted the dominions of the Nuwab Vizier, was, however, specially reserved; and this, together with a pergunna of Rohilkhund, valuable to the Vizier from its situation in the Teraee eastward of the Gogra, but yielding under our management an inadequate revenue, was ceded to his excellency in extinction of

one of the loans of a crore of rupees that had been obtained of him during the war.

The Goorkhas had shown themselves, in the course of the past two years, to be as formidable a power as any that existed in India. But the conditions of the peace now concluded were calculated to undermine their power, not only by their present direct effect in weakening their resources and curtailing their dominions, but, more particularly, by taking away, for the future, the means of gratifying their ambitious views, and pursuing those plans of conquest and extension, which the superiority of the Goorkhas in courage and military science over their neighbours, had hitherto enabled this nation to follow with no inconsiderable success. By our possession of the hill tract westward of the Gogra, and by the protection afforded to the Sikkim Raja to the east, the Goorkha territory has been reduced to the form of a parallelogram, three sides of which are in immediate contact with the British power, while the fourth is bounded by the stupendous mountain barrier of the Hunachul range, on the other side of which is the frontier of the Chinese empire. Since the Goorkha government can never be prepared to venture in a second contest with either of these powers, so long at least as they maintain their present strength, its natural policy hereafter will be, to forego altogether those military habits, which no longer hold out the same prospect of advantage.

The Marquess of Hastings had returned to the Presidency towards the close of the rainy season of 1815, more fully convinced than ever of the necessity of early undertaking the suppression of the predatory hordes, for which as yet no authority had arrived from England. Anticipating that the Nipál war would have closed with the first campaign, his Lordship had prepared himself to devote, if not immediately, at least in the subsequent year, the un-reduced strength of the armies of the Bengál Presidency to the accomplishment of the important object

of securing the peace of central India by the destruction of these lawless marauders. The assent of the home authorities to this undertaking could not appear doubtful to any one in Bengal; and, anticipating its arrival, he was desirous of acting while the late additions increased so much his military means, and before the extraordinary resources obtained from the Nuwab Vizier should have been frittered away in expensive annual preparations of defence. But, as the expected sanction of the authorities in England to the adoption of this course of policy had not arrived, his Lordship did not feel himself at liberty to undertake the proposed measures. After some discussion, however, it was resolved to submit a second and more earnest reference of the question for the consideration of the authorities, to whom the Supreme Government was responsible, and, in the interim, it was deemed necessary, as soon as the Goorkha war should be terminated, to make every possible reduction of the military establishments, which was done by breaking up the grenadier battalions and other temporary arrangements of the preceding year.

Meantime, the dussera of 1815 had been celebrated at Cheetoo's cantonment of Nemawur by a greater concourse of Pindarees, than had ever before been assembled at one point. Preparation was evidently making for an expedition of more than ordinary interest, in which every durra was to have its share. On the 14th October, a body of nearly 8000 of all descriptions was ascertained to have crossed the Nerbudda, and to have taken a southward direction. It soon broke into two parties, one of which was heard of as it passed the valley of the Taptee, and was beaten up in its bivouac on the 24th October by a party of the Nizam's reformed infantry under Major Fraser, in number about 300, accompanied by about 100 horse. The completeness of the surprise allowed the infantry time to fire several volleys, by which the Pindarees suffered some loss

before they could gallop off and disperse: but the horse would neither attack nor pursue, nor even (which is yet more extraordinary) join in collecting the booty. Indeed, no efforts could get them from between the advance and rear guard of the infantry, so that the loss suffered by the freebooters was comparatively trifling. This, and other examples of the degree of reliance to be placed on the Nizam's cavalry, induced the Supreme-Government shortly afterwards to authorise the resident at Hyderabad to exert his influence in procuring a similar reform, to that already introduced by British officers into the infantry establishments, to be extended to the cavalry also, which were, of the two, deficient in perhaps the greater degree. A plan for the reform of the Nizam's horse was drawn up by Captain Sydenham, an officer employed in a diplomatic situation at Aurungabad: and, since its introduction, these troops have been distinguished by more courage and activity, and are now in nothing inferior to the irregular horse of other establishments. The routed party of Pindarees were not deterred by the surprise they had suffered from continuing their depredations in a southerly direction till they reached the banks of the Kishna. The other party, which had proceeded south-eastward, had been heard of at Ramtikee and Choupara in the Nágpoor dominions. It thence had traversed the Nizam's territories from north to south, till it also appeared on the northern bank of the Kishna, where no such danger was apprehended. The territories of the Madras presidency lay on the southern bank, and were only preserved from devastation by the fortuitous circumstance of the river continuing not fordable for horses so unusually late as the 20th of November. Finding the Kishna impassable, the freebooters took a turn eastward, plundering the country for several miles along its populous and fertile banks, and committing every kind of enormity. On approaching the frontier of Masulipatam, they shaped their course northward,

and returned along the line of the Godaveree and Wurda, passing to the east of all Colonel Doveton's positions, and making good their route to Nemawur, with an immense booty collected in the Nizam's dominions, and with utter impunity. The plunder obtained in this Luhbur was greater than that of any previous expedition; insomuch, that merchants were sent for from Oojein to purchase many of the valuables obtained, those of Nemawur not being sufficiently wealthy.

Elated at this success, a second expedition was planned and proclaimed very soon after the return of the first. Pindarees again flocked in from every durra, to join in it; and, by the 5th of February, ten thousand under different leaders had again crossed from Nemawur, and were on their way S. S. E. in the route, by which the former party had returned. The first that was heard of this body, after its crossing the Nerbudda, was its appearance on the western frontier of the district of Masulipatam, under the Madras Presidency, on the 10th of March. From this point it shaped its course southward, and next day made a march of ~~38~~ miles, in the course of which it plundered ~~38~~ villages, committing in each the most horrid cruelties upon the unarmed and inoffensive inhabitants. The following day (12th), after a march of 38 miles, and the destruction of 54 villages, the horde arrived at the civil station of Guntoor, where they plundered a considerable part of the town, and the houses of all the civil officers. The government treasure and the persons of the British Residents were protected at the Collector's office, by the exertions of a few troops and invalids kept at the station for civil duties. It being ~~not~~ no part of the design of the Pindarees to risk the loss of time or of lives, they immediately moved off with what they could get; and before night there was not a single strange horseman in the neighbourhood. The whole had hurried off westward, making a march of 52 miles the next day. This body of marauders continued on the whole 12

days within the Company's frontier; and, after leaving Guntoor, swept through part of the ~~Kannapa~~ ^{Kannapa} district, and recrossed the Kishna on the 22d of March. A squadron of the Madras 4th native cavalry, detached against them from Hyderabad, arrived on the opposite bank just after they had made good the passage. It happened that a considerable force was at the time in the field a little further to the west, for the settlement of a disputed succession to the Kurnool Jagheer; but, though it sent out detachments in every direction, and others were despatched from Hyderabad in their rear, the plunderers escaped from all with impunity. After recrossing the Kishna, the Luhbur seems by agreement to have separated into several bodies, in order the better to baffle pursuit and scour the country. The greater part moved westward, along the north bank of the Kishna, passing south of Hyderabad, until they approached the Peshwa's dominions: when, turning short to the north, the whole retraced their steps to the Nerbudda in several divisions and by various routes. The advanced guard of one body, led by Bheo ~~X~~oo Seyud, was heard of by Colonel Doveton, and overtaken, as it was passing the ~~Agjunta~~ ^{Agjunta} range at Dewal Ghât, by a party of Mysore horse, detached for the purpose. The Colonel himself had moved at the same time under the guidance of a prisoner to intercept the main body; it escaped, however, by a singular chance, and contrary to all expectation. The other parties, which had taken a more easterly course, met with no obstruction on their return; and it was ascertained that nearly the whole of those who had passed the Nerbudda, in February, to engage in this expedition, had recrossed before the 17th of May, bringing a second immense harvest of booty within the year, and without having suffered any loss worthy of mention. Some idea may be formed of the extent of ravage and cruelty, which marked the track of these banditti, from what was found to be the damage sustained by the Company's district, during the 12 days that

they remained within its frontier. It was ascertained by a committee sent to the spot ~~for~~^{for the} express purpose of the investigation, that 182 individuals had been put to a cruel death, 505 were found severely wounded, and no less than 3603 had been subjected to different kinds of torture. The private loss of individuals was estimated by the committee at two lacks and a half of perjodas, about 100,000*l.* sterling.

It would seem that the Pindaree leaders had this season come to a resolution to respect the territories of the Mahratta chiefs, and to direct their ravages chiefly, if not exclusively, against those of the Nizam and of the British Government. This had been publicly given out in the hordes: and some of the few stragglers that were left behind and taken, stated the same thing on their examinations. Such a resolution may have been the result of the secret negotiations carried on by the Mahratta agents, particularly Balajee Koonjur, a person of high repute, and formerly a minister of the Pêshwa. This man having left Poona some years before in apparent disgrace, had latterly visited all the Mahratta courts, where he was received with marked attention, and evidently had some important business in hand. He was known to have had communication with the Pindarees, on his way to Nâgpoor from Sindheea's camp, in the early part of 1815, and from that city he went to Cheetoo's cantonment at Nemawur, as if purposely to make them a party to the intrigue he was conducting. It was an insidious kind of hostility, thus, under the mask of friendship and professions of attachment, to instigate the attacks of these irresponsible unacknowledged bands; but it is not on that account the less likely to have been suggested, by the hatred and fears of the Mahratta chiefs, or recommended by their notions of morality. Perhaps the Mahrattas had discovered the full extent, to which we were disposed to carry our consideration of their fellow feeling towards the freebooters, and our intention to act upon

the principle of refraining to suppress this common pest of all regular governments, through fear of giving them umbrage, and thence derived an assurance of safety and impunity in this course, ~~for some time to come~~. If any proof were wanting, that these enterprises of the Pindarees were undertaken in concert with the Mahratta powers, it might be found in the circumstance of the latter having afterwards chosen the particular moment of our prosecuting measures for the suppression of the predatory associations, to rise themselves against the British supremacy. Without some assurance of such support, whenever our strength should be put forth against them, the Pindaree leaders would scarcely have commenced, at this particular juncture, a plan of systematic depredation, pointedly aimed at the only power they had reason to fear. And, if the plan of directing the Pindarees against us originated in the councils of the Mahratta durbars, it must be traced to intrigues anterior to those which accompanied and followed the discussions at the Poona court; although these may doubtless have helped to exasperate the national feeling against us.

A brief notice of the intrigues that passed in the season of 1815-16, will here perhaps be acceptable. While the Pêshwa was hesitating, whether to abandon his favourite, or the British alliance, he was naturally desirous of ascertaining how far he might reckon on the other Mahratta courts. He accordingly had taken measures to sound the Bhoosla and Sindheea; but the answer of neither arrived, until Bajec Rao had been forced to make his election for the surrender of his minister. It was ascertained, however, that both had given him to understand, that, if he were willing fairly to commit himself and take the lead, he might depend on their co-operation, though, until he did so, they were not disposed to trust him, or to come forward, at the hazard of taking the whole consequences on themselves. Baptiste's force was specially applied for by Trimbukjee, through Sindheea's agent at Poona, the channel used by the Pêshwa to

sound the disposition of that durbar. The answer was written in the form of a banker's letter to his correspondent. After assurances that Willoba Naeek (the Peshwa) might have drawn at pleasure, the letter proceeded: ~~“This banking-house is the~~ “Naeek's own; while your house is in want of cash” (meaning troops), “you must submit to the importunity of creditors” (the British). “The Naeek ought, therefore, to go about for some time on pretence of pilgrimages; but let him write a bill in his *own hand*, and, after that, wherever money is required, thither it shall be sent without delay.” The letter was dated 11th of September, at the time the discussions were at their height; and it is not difficult to discover both the advice, the assurance, and the distrust conveyed under this puerile disguise. (The interest excited by these discussions, and by the state of the wars and negotiations with Nipál, were the matters which engrossed the chief attention of all the Mahratta powers during the season of 1815-16. Holkar's troops were collected and held in some state of preparation during the month of September; but the pecuniary embarrassments of that court were growing every day greater; insomuch, that, in December, the two regent widows, Meena Bacc and Toolsee Bacc, were obliged to fly with their ward, Mulhar Rao Holkar, to take refuge with Zalim Singh, the manager of Kota, until the mutinous disposition of the troops, who had for some time been sitting *dhurna** on the court for pay, could either be quelled, or their demands satisfied. They effected their escape on horseback after the young Holkar had been carried in procession with the Tazeea (the bier of Hoosein), during the Muhurram†, and thus got off unsuspected to Zalim Singh's fort of Gungerial. Before April 1816, the two widows, connecting themselves with different parties, came to a final rupture; and Meena Bacc, suspecting that Toolsee Bacc's party had a design to seize her person, fled back for protection

* Vide Hunter's Hindoostanee Dictionary.

† ~~A Maanman festival~~ Vide Ditto.

to a body of the discontented troops. These, however, at the suggestion, it was supposed, of Toolsee Bae and Balaram Set her adviser, placed her under restraint, demanding their arrears from some private treasure she was suspected to be possessed of.

Ameer Khan did not seem disposed to take any further advantage of this confusion, than by the more complete establishment of his own independence. But his influence was exerted in favour of Balaram Set, and contributed materially to aid him in supplanting Tantecar/Aleekur, who was very justly disliked and suspected by the Patans. In the earlier part of the season of 1815-16, Ameer Khan had been employed in settling the amount of the contribution he was to receive from Joudhpoor. The Raja, Man Singh, first employed his minister, Singhce Indraj, to negotiate this point, and then, from jealousy of his power and influence, intrigued with Ameer Khan to have him murdered. This was effected at a conference within the citadel, where two Patans were admitted to adjust with the minister the amount to be paid. The assassins were protected from the populace by the Raja, and sent back in safety to Ameer Khan, who, by agreement, held one of the gates of the city during the conference. This was the second assassination committed by the Patans at the suggestion of Raja Man Singh. Towards the end of the season, having adjusted matters with Joudhpoor, Ameer Khan made preparations for a serious attack on Jypoor, as will hereafter be more particularly mentioned.

CHAPTER VI.

BHOPÁL—NÁGPOOR.

1816. MARCH TO JULY.

Death of Vizier Mahommed—and of Ragoojee Bhoosla—consequent deliberations—Bhopál—its alliance declined—Nagpoor—Pursajee—his incapacity—Appa Saheb—his pretensions—character—Dhurmajee Bhoosla—his intrigues—their ill success—both parties court the British resident—who waits instructions—their tenor—alliance and terms offered—transactions at Nagpoor—Dhurmajee confined—Appa Saheb regent—seeks British alliance—Naroba—negotiation—its progress—conclusion—and signature—reflections—Subsidiary force called in—further transactions at Nágpoor.

WHILE the Pindarees were engaged in the second enterprise described in the preceding chapter, two events occurred, most propitious to the British interests in the quarter whence those marauders had issued, had but the Indian government been prepared to take advantage of them. The death of Vizier Mahommed, Nuwab of Bhopál, on the 17th March 1816, and that of Ragoojee Bhoosla on the 22d of the same month. The former was succeeded by his son, Nuzur Mahommed, a very young man—too young, it was to be feared, for the perilous circumstances of the principality, superadded to the troubles of a new succession. There was every reason, therefore, to apprehend, that either the Mahrattas or the Pindaree chieftains in the neighbourhood would attempt to avail themselves of the occasion, to interfere in the concerns of Bhopál; in either of which cases, a second and more sincere application for our permanent protection of its legitimate prince was to be expected as a natural consequence. Ragoojee's successor was his only son, Pursajee Bhoosla, known before his

accession by the name of Bala Saheb. The intrigues and passing occurrences of that court likewise promised equally to give the long-sought opportunity of establishing a subsidiary connexion with the Nágpoor state. The question, whether or no the supreme-government should now direct its efforts to the accomplishment of these two objects, was thus forced upon the consideration of the Governor-General in council in the month of April 1816.

There was but one opinion in respect to the policy of forming the connexion with Nágpoor, which was accordingly resolved upon the moment the question was brought forward. That with Bhopál had hitherto been regarded rather as an alternative to be adopted in consequence of the impossibility of forming one with Nágpoor, or as a necessary precaution against the designs of a hostile Mahratta confederation: now, however, it presented itself in a new light; and the point to be determined was, whether, having the means of establishing the British influence at Nágpoor, the advantage of extending it in the direction of the Nerbudda, whenever the occasion offered, by the annexation of Bhopál, the territories of which lay ~~very~~ opportunely contiguous, and presented ~~many~~ advantages both of offence and defence against the Pindarees, did not call for its adoption yet more strongly than before. It was now recommended, not only as a measure ~~relative~~ to the Nágpoor alliance, but also as a means of gaining a vantage ground for striking a blow at the predatory associations, which the supreme-government was still ~~left~~ free to ~~inflict~~, should any opportunity offer of catching their bands beyond their proper boundaries. The objections urged against forming such a connexion had their foundation apparently in the apprehension of the risk of giving umbrage to the Mahratta powers, which the steps taken in 1814-15. had proved to be an object of exaggerated alarm. Moreover, if the Nágpoor Raja were gained over to our side,

that risk could scarcely be said to exist, or, at the most, was a matter of comparative indifference to the British, after the successful close of the Nipâlese war. At the same time, having once established an alliance with Nâgpoor, and obtained from it a position for a considerable force on the Nerbudda, the defence of Bhopâl might be provided for by an additional brigade, in communication with that position; and this could be so chosen, as to form a connecting link with the force in Bundelkhund. The advantage of securing the resources of this state in our own interest, and depriving the Pindarees of the means they derived from it, especially when this could be accomplished with such apparent facility, were strongly felt by the Governor-General, who perceived the incalculable benefit of this arrangement, both to the present interests of his government, and to the ulterior prosecution of a systematic plan, for the entire suppression of those dangerous and rapidly increasing hordes of adventurers and banditti.

The Marquess of Hastings could not, however, consider these advantages, certain and considerable as they were, sufficient, in ~~the~~ actual state of things, to warrant a departure from the policy that seemed most ~~acceptable~~ to the authorities in England. Towards the close of the month of April, therefore, a short time after the Nâgpoor connexion had been resolved upon, his Lordship came to the ~~resolution~~ not to seek the Bhopâl alliance, even should the negotiations, which were then opened at Nâgpoor, be brought to a favourable issue. The political agent in Bundelkhund, as well as the ~~resident~~ at the ~~durbar~~ of Sindheea, both of whom had solicited instructions for their guidance, in the expectation of new overtures from Bhopâl, or of further attempts against that principality on the part of the Mahrattas, were accordingly desired to refrain from giving to such overtures any encouragement, and to maintain, on behalf of the British Government, the strictest neutrality and indifference in regard

to what might be passing at Bhopál. They were, however, warned, that there was no occasion to make public profession of this determination ; as any such declaration would infallibly have the effect of needlessly inviting the cupidity and ambition of the turbulent neighbours of the principality, who probably might else be restrained by the fear of a second protective interference. These instructions were strictly followed : and when, in the course of 1816, indirect overtures were made by the young Nuwab, they were answered by commonplace expressions of courtesy and goodwill, without meeting any further encouragement whatever*.

Affairs were in the meantime hastening to a crisis at the court of Nâgpoor. Ragoojee's successor was nowise capable of conducting the government that had devolved upon him. He had been all his life reputed to be of a disposition flighty and impatient of control ; but a recent sickness had deprived him of sight, and he had lost the use of one of his arms by a stroke of the palsy, that had left him, moreover, completely bedridden. His mind had also been affected by these bodily afflictions, and was frequently observed to wander, insomuch as scarcely to be sensible of what was passing. Several instances of this were current in the way of public conversation : for instance, during the ceremony of burning his father's body, he made very indecorous complaints of its length, and accused the

* In the beginning of 1817, an agent of the Nuwab, named Inayut Muscey, went over to Nâgpoor, and there delivered a specific proposition, in writing, to Mr. Jenkins, the resident, soliciting, on the part of Nuzur Mahommed, that the state might be admitted to the British protection, on the terms offered to Vizier Mahommed. This was followed up by a letter to the same effect, from the Nuwab himself to Mr. Wauchope, the political agent in Bundelkhund. On reference to the supreme-government, it was still determined, after some deliberation, to adhere to the above resolution : but the Marquess of Hastings took the occasion to put his opinions on the question upon record, and to bring the subject to the special notice of the authorities in England.

Brahmins of having some sinister design in thus detaining him. He publicly charged Appa Saheb of attempting his life, when some consecrated water happened accidentally to be sprinkled over him; and on one occasion, in full durbar, expressed impatience as to what had become of his *mustaches*, forgetting that they had been shaved off, as a necessary circumstance of mourning for his father's death. There was, indeed, but one opinion respecting his utter incompetency to exercise the functions of his station; and all seemed to agree upon the necessity of an immediate resort to a provisional form of administration.

The next heir to the Raja was Moodajee Bhoosla, commonly called Appa Saheb, son of Vincojee Bhoosla (Nana Saheb), the only brother of Ragoojee. The claims of an infant son of a daughter of Ragoojee were not held to come into competition with those of Appa Saheb, the nearest in the male line, except, indeed, in the case of his adoption by Pursajee; marriage being considered, by some classes of Hindoos, to transfer the bride to her husband's family, and to cut off herself and her descendants for ever from any claim on that of her own parents. Appa Saheb was of an age and character to possess public consideration, and was naturally the person entitled to assume the regency; but he had been on ill terms with his uncle, Ragoojee, for some time before his death, in consequence of the Raja's having attempted the resumption of a large territory which the nephew had inherited from his father. It had been preserved to him, at last, by the aid of a remonstrance of the British Resident at Nagpoor; and this circumstance not only produced an irreconcilable difference between the two princes, but induced Ragoojee to have recourse to a series of measures, calculated to annoy and distress his nephew in every possible way. On his death-bed, however, Ragoojee, aware of his son's incapacity, sent for Appa Saheb, and placing his son's hand within that of his offended cousin, said, he made him the depositary of the family honour; en-

deavouring, by this tardy confidence, to secure his good offices towards Pursajee. But the ministers and favourites, who had been the instruments, if not the originators, of Ragoojee's persecution of his nephew, were not so easily reconciled to the idea of his assuming the supreme direction of affairs. A strong party accordingly formed itself, to oppose the claim of the heir-presumptive to the regency. It was headed by Dhurmajee Bhoosla, a *chela* or *élève* of the deceased Raja, who had risen to such favour with him, as to be entrusted with the charge of a great part of his public and private treasures, amounting, as was supposed, to about a crore of rupees. This man was an unprincipled libertine, and ~~had~~ been the instigator and chief actor in those measures of extortion which had marked the close of Ragoojee's life, and latterly rendered it dangerous for any man of wealth to reside or come within his dominions. Besides the large influence resulting from the control of the treasury, Dhurmajee had several partizans in the *m^hul*, or women's apartment, and enjoyed a considerable share of popularity among the Arab mercenaries, who guarded the palace and person of the new Raja. The principal officers of the late prince's ministry joined this party, and formed a scheme for vesting the regency in Buka Baee*, the favourite wife of the deceased, and further, for inducing his successor to adopt the infant grandson of Ragoojee, to the perpetual exclusion of Appa Saheb from all share in the administration, and ultimately from the succession itself. The intrigue first showed itself, in an attempt to have some other than Appa Saheb nominated to officiate at the *sradh* of the deceased Raja, a ceremony always required to be performed by the nearest male heir, who being incompetent in the present case, the nephew, as next in the male line, had some sort of right to preside on his behalf.

* Not Pursajee's mother, who was not then living.

Hearing of this intrigue, Appa Saheb openly expressed the highest indignation, professing his determination to resort to force, sooner than submit to be so superseded. His party at the same time talked loudly of the necessity of rescuing the government and public treasures from the hands of the worthless and designing individuals, who, under the colour of the name, were usurping the authority of the young Raja. The popular voice was so strongly in his favour on this point, that Dhurmajee's party, not being yet prepared for extremities, disclaimed having ever meditated the supersession of the presumptive heir, or appointment of another person to officiate for Pursajee at the approaching *sradh*. A readiness was at the same time expressed to admit Appa Saheb to a share in the government on certain conditions; and efforts were made to bring about a reconciliation, but thwarted underhand by Dhurmajee. The *sradh* was quietly performed on the 1st of April, the nephew of the deceased officiating as principal actor in the ceremonies.

While matters remained in this unsettled state, both parties expressed the strongest desire for the return of Sreedhur Pundit, who was still the nominal prime minister at Nâgpoor, but having found his influence with Ragoojee on the wane, had retired some months before the death of that prince, on pretence of a pilgrimage to Benares, where he still remained. This man was regarded as the head of the English party at Nâgpoor; and the object of these professions of intention to abide by what he might determine was, to prevent a more active interference on our part in their favour. Of this, both seemed apprehensive, though nothing was farther from the Resident's thoughts. Dhurmajee had however an ulterior object in view: for so long as this suspense should continue, the power, as well as the treasures, of the government, would remain at his disposal, in the same manner as they had been at the time of Ragoojee's decease. Thus every one seemed earnest in his protestations to Mr.

Jenkins, the British resident at Nāgpoor, of desire to maintain the best understanding with the English. Appa Saheb, in particular, made direct overtures through Juswunt Rao Ram Chundur, who was the negotiator of the treaty of Deogam, and had since been the appointed channel of communication between the resident and this court. He proposed to accept the terms before offered to Ragoojee, and to receive a subsidiary force, on condition of support against the designs of the opposite faction.

Mr. Jenkins refused to interfere in this scene of intrigue until he should receive special orders from the Governor-General, but lost no time in laying before the Supreme Government the real position of affairs at Nāgpoor, asking instructions, as to how far, in the actual state of the Raja's intellects, he might consider himself warranted in receiving the overtures, and listening to the propositions of the presumptive heir, previously to his acquiring any direct ostensible share in the government. This was a question that depended on the degree of Pursajee's incapacity. If it were such as to prevent his being considered a free agent in the choice of the responsible functionaries of his government, then, of course, any faction that should attempt to exclude the next heir, being of fit age, from a share in the administration, could only be regarded as usurpers, assuming the Raja's name as a mere cloke to their illegal proceedings. In submitting this question, Mr. Jenkins ~~had already decided~~ an opinion of the malady of the reigning Raja, as to think it would be usurpation in Dhurmajee's party, if, representing themselves as the ministers of Pursajee's choice, they refused to allow Appa Saheb the exercise of a fair portion of control over their acts of administration. Wherefore, on the same principle ~~as the latter~~ would have been warranted in the employment of force to obtain his right, would ~~he likewise be free~~ to solicit foreign aid for the purpose, and the British at liberty to connect

themselves with his party, if solicited so to do, and to support his claims against the opposition of Dhurmajee, or of the other ministers of the late Raja.

By the way, it is observable, that the turn taken by these intrigues and divisions at Nâgpoor had a direct and obvious tendency to introduce a foreign influence, at the invitation of either party, or of both. If, therefore, we refrained from stepping forward, it was to be feared, that either Sindheea or the Pêshwa, or some of the Pindaree leaders, would succeed in establishing themselves to our perpetual exclusion: at the same time, since the contention lay entirely between the factions of Appa Saheb and of Dhurmajee, the legitimate Raja having no greater interest on the one side than on the other, we seemed to have no other object of solicitude, than to connect ourselves with the rightful cause, which appeared undoubtedly to be that of the cousin and presumptive heir.

In the month of April, as before mentioned, the Supreme Government came to the resolution of seizing the first opportunity to form a subsidiary alliance with Nâgpoor. On hearing of the state of parties at that court, as described in the despatches of the resident, the government further resolved, that in case Pursajee's malady should prove to be such, as to render him utterly incapable of conducting public business, or of exercising the judgment requisite in the selection of fit persons for ~~the next male heir~~, the next male heir, if of mature age and possessed of the requisite qualifications, should be considered to possess an inherent right to represent the sovereign authority of the state, and that the British Government would consequently hold itself free to negotiate with him directly, without any inquiry whether he derived his authority from the nominal and hereditary prince, or otherwise. ~~It was further if Pursajee should appear to be~~ incapacitated by the malady under which he laboured, in the degree stated, a point which must

unavoidably be left ~~to the discretion of the~~ the resident and the general feeling of those attached to the court. ~~and~~ if Appa Saheb should be the next male heir in legitimate succession to Pursajee, Mr. Jenkins was instructed to negotiate with him as the rightful head of the state, and if practicable, to conclude a treaty on the basis of affording the aid of the British Government in support of his just pretensions, upon the conditions of a subsidiary alliance. The utmost caution was, however, directed to be observed, in ascertaining the precise degree of Pursajee's incapacity; and some further inquiry was ordered into the other point, how far the heritable claims of the nephew were recognised by the Mahratta law of succession, as preferable to those of the grandson by the daughter of Ragoojee. The first instructions on this subject were forwarded on the 15th April. The division of the Hyderabad subsidiary force, then at Ellicpoor in the valley of the Poorna under Colonel Doveton, was placed at Mr. Jenkins's disposal, in case he should find it necessary to call for the whole, or any part of it, in support of the cause of Appa Saheb, under the conditional authority conveyed in his instructions, or for the execution of the treaty of alliance and subsidy, in case the negotiations should be brought to this issue.

The terms of alliance to be proposed to the Nâgpoor prince varied in nothing from those which it had been attempted to establish in the lifetime of the late Raja. The Bhoosla state was to be incorporated in the league for the defence of the Dukhun, already subsisting between the British Government, the Nizam, and the Pêshwa; and was to be ready with its whole resources, when required for the purpose of promoting or securing that object. A contingent was at all events to be maintained in permanent efficiency, and ever ready to act with the British subsidiary force, ~~and~~ to consist of not less than four battalions of infantry, a regiment of cavalry, and a due pro-

portion of artillery, ~~which was to be posted~~ to be posted somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Nerbudda, and ~~that~~ the Bhoosla was to bear a proportion of the expense. His court was also to refrain from negotiation, except in concert with the British Government, and to abide its arbitration of all differences with other powers. In short, the conditions were the same as have been explained in the first chapter, to constitute the relations of such other states as had accepted subsidiary alliances; the main object being to bring the Bhoosla into this class. In subsequent instructions regarding the conduct of this negotiation, the Supreme Government declared its wish, in the present instance, that whatever subsidy should be agreed on, should be stipulated in the shape of periodical money payments; with a proviso, however, for the eventual substitution of a territorial cession in case of irregularity of payments, or of the occurrence of such a change of circumstances as should render an arrangement of this nature more desirable than at present. The reason for this unusual preference of money payments was, that this subsidiary force must necessarily be thrown so much in advance upon the frontier, and be so continually in the field in chase of the Pindarees, as to raise a probability of embarrassments arising, from its having also to protect a territory of considerable extent, specifically assigned for its own support. Had a cession been demanded in the first instance, it could only have been granted somewhere in the neighbourhood of the position to be occupied by the subsidiary force, for there were no other lands belonging to the state conveniently situated for the purpose.

Before Mr. Jenkins received any of these instructions, almost indeed before he was informed of his own government being prepared to contract the alliance, the contest had been brought to a crisis at Nâgpoor, which produced renewed overtures of such a nature, as he did not hesitate to entertain on his own

responsibility, from their consonance to the spirit of the orders, under which he had acted upon former occasions. It has been mentioned before, that a reconciliation, which was attempted between the two rival factions, miscarried in consequence of Dhurmajee's secret counteraction. He not only induced Buka Bae, the regent proposed by his party, to reject with scorn the paper of reconciliation, when submitted to her for signature; but, after first agreeing to sign himself, next day retracted his assent, unless upon the condition, that Appa Saheb would give him the security of the Punnee Patans. This is a class of Mousulman assassins, whose existence would not be tolerated under any other civil institutions, than those engendered by the misrule of the Nizam and the Mahratta princes. The singularity and binding force of their contracts consist in this, that, if once their pledge is given for any one's personal security, they are notorious for never failing to redeem it, by the secret murder of the aggressor upon the person guaranteed.

The distrust of Appa Saheb, intimated in the assumption of such a pretext for rejecting the reconciliation, joined to the known profligacy of Dhurmajee's character, made every one suspicious of his real designs. It was also discovered, that Dhurmajee had sent invitations to men of this description to come over from Hyderabad and Ellicpoor, a thing which gave great disgust to the leading people of all parties at the Nagpoor court. His behaviour was moreover offensively overbearing to every body; insomuch, that all but men of desperate fortunes were alienated and disgusted. Appa Saheb was encouraged by this posture of affairs to take measures for seizing him in the palace where he resided; and having secured the concurrence of the principal people about the person of the Raja, as well as of Pursajee himself, who seems to have been brought to declare himself in favour of his cousin, and consent to his acting in this, as in all other matters, as he might think best, a body of Appa

Saheb's personal retainers was marched into the fort of Nâgpoor, and Dhurmajee secured without resistance or difficulty, together with his public and private treasures. This measure was effected on the evening of the 11th of April, 1816; having been precipitated by a sense of the necessity of crushing this intriguer, before his command of treasure and connexion with the Punnee Patans should have made him formidable. Pursajee showed more energy on this occasion than could have been expected from his usual habits: for, when Appa Saheb's party was approaching the palace, there were not wanting some who represented their coming as hostile and dangerous to himself, and endeavoured to procure an order from the Raja for their being resisted, which the Arab mercenaries were well enough inclined to obey. Pursajee, however, had no personal alarm, and forbade any resistance; declaring that Appa Saheb had full power in all things.

Three days after Dhurmajee's apprehension, the ceremony of seating the Raja on the Guddee, which is the formal act of installation, was publicly performed, and Appa Saheb was on the same day solemnly declared to be vested, by the Raja himself, with the sole and entire conduct of the public affairs, under the title of Naeab-o-Mokhtar—Deputy with full powers. The English gentlemen at Nâgpoor were present at the ceremony, and Mr. Jenkins was the first to offer his own congratulations and those of the government he represented, upon the auspicious commencement of the new reign.

Though Appa Saheb had thus quietly obtained the apparent object of his wishes, in being publicly acknowledged regent with full powers, he was still by no means so certain of retaining the quiet enjoyment of the dignity, as to cease to regard a subsidiary connexion with the British, as a most desirable measure of security, in the unsettled state in which he found all around him. The chief offices of the government were still held by the ministers

of Ragoojee, the greater part of whom had joined in the conspiracy for his exclusion. There was danger in attempting their immediate displacement, lest they should declare Pursajee's competency to resume the reins himself, and, by alarming him with fears for his life, obtain from him a formal revocation of the late nomination to the regency. The ministers, indeed, though professing their ready acquiescence in the late arrangement, assumed a tone of independence by no means compatible with the Asiatic notion of the deference due from a minister to his master. Thus Naroba, the Chitnavees, or secretary of state, took an early opportunity to wait upon the new regent, in order to inform him, that if he wished to be served zealously by himself, it would be necessary that the course of foreign policy, pursued by Ragoojee in the latter part of his life, should be maintained, particularly alluding to the communications that had for some time been passing between Ragoojee, on the one hand, and the Pêshwa, Sindheea, and Holkar, on the other, the object of which was to promote a spirit of concert and union amongst all the Mahrattas, directed against the British ascendancy. Naroba adverted also to another intrigue, which, it seems, had been in train some time before the death of Ragoojee, and had in view the endeavour, through the medium of English gentlemen returning to their native country, to open a direct communication with the King of England, in order to procure the restoration of the provinces of Cuttack and Berar, for a present consideration of 30 lacks of rupees. Such an intrigue, it is firmly believed, never had being, except in the machinations of a wily Mahratta of the name of Pursaram Rao, who, understanding a little of the English language, had address enough to persuade the deceased Raja, that nothing was easier than to open such a channel, and had procured considerable sums of money, under pretence of forwarding the project. In this in-

trigüe Narobā wished the government of Nāgpoor to persevere, being himself the dupe of Pursaram's imposture.

The regent was induced, by distrust of Naroba, immediately to communicate what had passed to Mr. Jenkins, hoping thereby to secure his active support, in measures directed to the removal of this man, whose office he intended for his private dewan Nagoo Punt. Naroba, however, had induced Sudeek Ulee Khan to accompany him, when he made this communication of his views and principles; and, as this man was one of the principal commanders of the Bhoosla military, upon whose affection he knew he could place no reliance, Apā Saheb felt himself under the necessity of temporizing with the Chitnavees, not feeling sufficient confidence in his own means to take the decided part his inclinations prompted. The desire of removing this, and others of his uncle's ministers, for the purpose of introducing men of his own choice, joined to the necessity he felt of disbanding, or at least re-organizing the military establishments, which caused him so much alarm, were the motives that urged him to the determination of connecting himself in a subsidiary alliance with the British Government, on the terms which had been offered to the late Raja. He was apprehensive, however, that, in the event of his forming such a connexion, an effort would be made to impose upon him a ministry made up of the party of Sreedhur Pundit, which it was supposed that Mr. Jenkins favoured. Accordingly, although the regent had resolved upon the alliance, he would not employ Juswunt Rao Ramchundur in the negotiation of it, knowing his anxiety for Sreedhur's recall and restoration to favour and authority. This point Juswunt Rao had frequently pressed, both upon Apā Saheb and upon the resident. Indeed, he was rather disappointed at the lukewarmness evinced by the latter's refusing to make an earnest representation of the necessity of the

immediate recall of his patron to settle the affairs of the court.

The persons employed by Appa Saheb were his private dewan, Nagoo Punt, and Nerayun Pundit, a minister of the late Raja, who had early espoused his party. The negotiation was commenced by a visit of Nerayun to the Resident on the night of the 22d April, the very same day on which Appa Saheb had consulted Mr. Jenkins about the removal of Naroba from office. Great mystery was observed upon the occasion; and, in the course of the interview, Nerayun presented a paper, written in the regent's own hand, signifying "that Nagoo Punt and Nerayun Pundit enjoyed his entire confidence, and were commissioned to open his (Appa Saheb's) inmost wishes to Mr. Jenkins, if he were disposed to meet them with equal cordiality." Having shown this paper, Nerayun invited the Resident to declare the views of his own government. Mr. Jenkins explained, that he was in daily expectation of receiving detailed instructions from the Governor-General; but that the views of his government were sufficiently apparent, from what had passed in the previous negotiation with Ragoojee, and as he had no reason to believe that they had undergone any alteration, he should be prepared to meet the negotiators on the part of Appa Saheb, without waiting the arrival of fresh orders. It was accordingly agreed, that both Nagoo Punt and Nerayun Pundit should have a conference with Mr. Jenkins, at the residency, on the night of 24th April.

Now that the heir-presumptive's pretensions were backed by Pursajee's late nomination to the regency, and he had thus become the recognised head of the Bhoosla state, our representative had no doubts as to the propriety of receiving his overtures; and in the absence of any ground for supposing that the views of his government in respect to Nâgpoor had changed, since the miscarriage of the negotiations in 1814, he resolved to

renew them on the same basis without further delay. He was naturally desirous of availing himself of this favourable disposition while it lasted; a course particularly necessary, considering the wavering characters of the native princes, and the total absence of any thing like systematic policy in most of their acts and resolutions.

The conference took place, according to appointment, on the night of the 24th. Nagoo Punt explained candidly his master's motives for desiring the alliance; but after much unreserved discussion on both sides, it was agreed to proceed no further, until Mr. Jenkins should have received his instructions. On the same evening, Appa Saheb himself sent for the Resident's moonshee, and after mentioning his desire to contract the alliance on the terms proposed to Ragoojee, declared, that besides the four battalions and a regiment of cavalry before proposed to be stationed on the Nerbudda, he must have another battalion at Nāgpoor for his personal security.

Mr. Jenkins received his first instructions on the 25th of April; and a further conference was held on the 27th, when a Persian draft of the treaty proposed to Ragoojee being produced, the conditions were fairly discussed article by article. The basis of the negotiation was at once agreed to; and the only points remaining to be settled after the first conference were—the strength of the subsidiary force—the amount of the subsidy—and the nature and strength of the contingent to be furnished by the Bhoosla state. A further question was agitated by the Mahratta negotiators, viz. the mode in which the regent was to be assured of the personal support of the British Government against the designs of the domestic factions of Nāgpoor. As both parties were equally sincere in their desire for the alliance, it was not long before all these points were satisfactorily adjusted. The strength of the subsidiary force was fixed at six battalions and a regiment of cavalry, the increase

“ Moodajee Bhoosla (Ap~~pa~~ Saheb) exercising with full powers “ all the functions of the government on behalf of the Maha-raja “ Pursajee Bhoosla,” thus involving a complete recognition of the authority of Moodajee ; in addition to which, Mr. Jenkins engaged that the Governor-General’s answer to the formal letter, to be written on its ratification, should contain a distinct assurance of support to Ap~~pa~~ Saheb’s administration of affairs, so long as Pursajee might remain in his present state of mental incapacity. The Mahratta negotiators were very urgent to have a stipulation introduced, that cows and bullocks should not be killed within the Nâgpoor territory. But this was refused as unusual ; and they were obliged to rest satisfied with a verbal assurance, that the custom which prevailed at Poona should also be observed here, and no bullocks or cows be killed on any account within the city itself ; but the troops, when in the field, or at a distance, were not to be restricted in this particular. All matters having been thus satisfactorily adjusted, the treaty was finally executed on the 27th May. Ap~~pa~~ Saheb’s signature was affixed with great secrecy in the night at the house of Nagoo Punt, one of the negotiators ; and it was agreed not to make it public, until the approach of the subsidiary force, which Mr. Jenkins promised immediately to call in from Ell~~ic~~poor, should remove every apprehension for the consequences of the expected displeasure of the adverse factions.

It may be proper to mention, that early in the negotiation, and with a view to expedite its conclusion, the resident had promised, on the part of the British Government, a pension of 25,000 rupees a year to Nagoo Punt, the chief negotiator, and of 15,000 to his colleague, both to commence from the signature of the treaty, and subject to the approbation of their master. Written engagements to this effect were accordingly delivered to both in the regent’s presence, immediately on receipt of the

signed treaty. These were to be commuted for sunnuds under the Governor-General's seal, which it was engaged to procure. Appa Saheb seemed well pleased with the arrangement : indeed, a similar one had followed the treaty of Deogam, when Sreedhur Pundit and Muswunt Rao Ramchundur obtained similar pensions of thirty and fifteen thousand rupees. The treaty was ratified by the Governor-General in council on the 15th June, and the assurance of personal support to Appa Saheb's administration, during the continued incapacity of Pursajee, was conveyed in the letter of congratulation addressed to that prince on the 13th July following.

Thus was accomplished the most important extension of the system of our relations with the native powers of India, that had taken place since the general settlement of them ten years before. On our part, it was hoped, that the alliance would have the effect of detaching the Bhoosla for ever from the other members of the Mahratta confederation, at the same time that it gave us a most important vantage ground, whence to launch our operations against the Pindarees and those who might venture to support them. Judging from subsequent events, it would seem to have been regarded by the other contracting party as a mere stepping-stone to absolute authority in internal affairs, a necessary expedient at the moment for breaking a formidable aristocratic faction, backed by a still more formidable soldiery ; but one that might be rejected with scorn, so soon as the object should have been securely gained. The parties obtained, each of them, much of the advantage calculated upon, though the result entirely answered the views of neither.

Immediately after the execution of the treaty, an express was sent off to summon the subsidiary force to Nágpoor. The resident had previously acquainted Colonel Doveton with the

progress of the negotiations, and prepared him to receive a summons of this nature. That officer had accordingly held in readiness a force of the exact strength agreed upon in the treaty, giving the command to Colonel Walker of the 3d Madras cavalry. This force left the neighbourhood of Ellio~~o~~poor on the first of June; and crossing the Wurda at Amner on the sixth, arrived at the distance of one march from Nâgpoor on the eighth of June. Here the main body halted; and two battalions, brigaded under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, marched ~~to~~ to the Bhoosla capital on the tenth, Colonel Walker accompanying them. The treaty, which had not till then been so much as suspected, was published in the city on the preceding day. On the 18th June, a cantonment was fixed upon for the Nâgpoor brigade about three miles to the west of the city. It was the resident's intention, that the remainder of the subsidiary force should move immediately to Pandoorna, there to canton during the rains, before it took up its final position on the banks of the Nerbudda near Hoshungabad. The continuance of the intrigues at Nâgpoor, however, induced our new ally to request that the departure of the main body might be postponed. Not only Naroba and his faction, but the Baees of the Muh~~l~~, and, amongst the rest, Kashee Bae Pursajee's wife, complained loudly of the conclusion of the treaty by Appa Saheb, without previously consulting them, declaring it to have been a condition of their acquiescence in his nomination to the regency, that they should be consulted in all matters of importance. The treaty itself was not the ground of their complaint; on the contrary, they avowed their readiness to give more advantageous terms, and made distinct overtures for the purpose to Mr. Jenkins. But the regent's breach of personal faith awakened all this virulence; and so rancorous was the enmity, that at last, fearing assassination, and having been dissuaded from accepting

a personal guard of our troops, Appa Saheb on the 27th June went to live at a garden-house adjoining the newly-chosen cantonment of the brigade, as the only place where he could feel himself in security. The issue of these dissensions will be detailed in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

JYPOOR, &c.

1816, APRIL TO OCTOBER.

Jypoor alliance—orders from England—suspended—resumed—debated—resolved upon—Military preparations—Negotiation—protracted—broken off—internal condition of Jypoor—fresh overtures—and negotiation—Again broken off—Nâgpoor affairs—Sindhëa's supineness—and offer to Jypoor—Pèshwa's conduct—and intrigues—Trimbukjee's escape—communications with Bajee Rao in consequence.

THE Nâgpoor alliance was not the only object, which engaged the attention of the Supreme Government during the hot season and the rains of 1816. The Goorkha war had no sooner been brought to an end, than it was resolved to endeavour to bring the state of Jypoor within the sphere of British protection; and the negotiations and military arrangements, commenced for this purpose, were simultaneous with the occurrences at Nâgpoor, detailed in the preceding chapter.

The circumstances, under which the first connexion of the British Government with Jypoor was formed in 1803, and broken off in 1806, will be familiar to those at all conversant with the political history of India. They are recorded in the work of Sir John Malcolm,* which appeared in 1811. One good effect of that publication was, that it produced a revolution in the sentiments of those intrusted with the home administration of the affairs of our Indian empire, in conformity with the spirit of whose policy, the previous treaty with Jypoor had been

* Political History of India.



JAYOOK FROM THE SOUTH WEST



SERTABULDEE HILLS & RESIDENCY OF NA'FOOK FROM THE WEST.

dissolved, and the principality abandoned to the oppression and exaction of the Mahrattas and Patans. Regretting the policy adopted towards this state in 1806, the secret committee issued orders from England on the 23rd December 1813, for taking it again under protection. These arrived on the 10th June 1814, at the time when the Supreme-Government had found itself forced into war with the Nipālese, and had prepared to refer the expediency of offensive measures against the predatory associations to the previous consideration of the authorities in England. When the execution of these orders came to be discussed, it was agreed, that the renewed connexion with Jypoor might well form part of the comprehensive plan proposed for the reduction of the freebooters; that singly it was an object of little importance, while it might involve us with the Mahrattas, and prematurely bring on the necessity of the immediate prosecution of the very course it had been resolved to defer. These arguments prevailed; and the home authorities afterwards admitted the propriety of this postponement of the execution of their orders at the particular juncture.

On the Governor-General's return from the western provinces, in September 1815, conceiving the Goorkha war to be near its conclusion, his Lordship came prepared with a proposition then to carry the measure into effect. However, the suspense in regard to Nipāl, and the ultimate renewal of war in that direction, prevented the matter from being immediately taken up. After the final termination of hostilities towards the end of March, the proposition was renewed; indeed, the question was forced upon the Indian government, by the increasing distresses of Jypoor, and by the earnest applications of its Raja, to be received under the wing of protection.

In the course of that month it had been ascertained, that Ameer Khan was collecting the whole of the Patan forces for the attack of Raja ~~Pratap~~^{Pratap} Singh in his capital of Jynagurh*,

* Vide plate at the head of this chapter.

ostensibly to force upon him a change of ministers, but evidently with the design of reducing the state, if possible, to complete subjection. There was no reason, therefore, to doubt the Raja's sincerity in the pressing overtures he made to Mr. Metcalfe through his agents at Dehlee, accompanied by an offer to submit to any sacrifices that might be demanded. These were soon followed up by similar solicitations and offers made directly to the Supreme-Government by the Raja's resident vakeel at the presidency.

Under these circumstances, it became necessary forthwith to decide upon the course of policy to be adopted in regard to Jypoor; and the question was fully considered and discussed. It was again urged, that the proposed alliance ought to form a part of the general plan of operations against the predatory bands, and therefore should be suspended till the sanction of the home authorities should allow that plan to be commenced upon—that the premature adoption of this insulated measure, by immediately involving us with Ameer Khan and the Patans, and possibly also with Sindheea, who made equal advantage of exactions from Jypoor, which a connexion with the British must put an immediate stop to, would necessarily bring on that extended scale of operations, and produce that change in the political relations of our eastern dominions, which had been regarded with so much alarm—that the committee's approbation of the postponement by the Supreme Government of execution of their previous orders was to be regarded as a virtual recal of them, or at least, as an acquiescence in the opinion, that the measure should only be prosecuted as part of a general system, without being desirable on its individual account. Giving to these arguments all the weight which they derived from the respectable quarter whence they proceeded, the Marquess of Hastings, nevertheless, considered the government to be free to take Jypoor under its protection, in obedience to the orders of 1813,

whenever the measure might be deemed expedient;—and that this freedom of action was not in the least affected by the approval of postponement at a juncture, when circumstances were obviously unfavourable. His Lordship thought also, that the measure was highly desirable in itself, abstracted from any general plan of operations, inasmuch as it would cripple the resources of one of the predatory powers, and save a fine and eventually useful territory from ruin and devastation. At the same time he conceived, from former experience of Sindheea's disposition, that it was not likely to involve us in extensive operations, as it was easy to overawe both that chieftain and the Patans, by demonstrations similar to those which had proved effectual pending the former negotiations with Bhopâl. He also considered the actual difficulties of Jypoor to have arrived at a crisis, that rendered the delay of a further reference quite inadmissible.

In conformity with his Lordship's opinion, it was resolved to entertain the Raja's overtures; and orders were issued to Mr. Metcalfe to that effect on the 20th of April 1816. The terms were to correspond exactly with those offered to Bhopâl in 1814-15: but Jypoor having greater resources, though for the present in a most exhausted condition, was to be called upon to defray eventually the greater part of the charge to be incurred in its protection. To carry into effect the alliance, in case of its being formed, troops were to assemble in the neighbourhood of Muttra and Rewaree, sufficient for the formation of two armies of 9000 men each. It was intended, that Sir David Ochterlony should take the command of one of them; and that both should be ready to advance on the first requisition of the resident at Dehlee, in order to drive the Patans beyond the Jypoor frontier. With a view at the same time to hold Sindheea and the Mahrattas in check, the troops at Cawnpoor and in Bundelkhand were directed to be on the alert; and

the four subsidiary forces were ordered respectively to positions, whence they might overawe the whole of Sindheea's and Holkar's dominions, while they covered, as far as was practicable, the territories of our own allies. The Guzerât force was to move to Brodera; the Poona subsidiary force to Jâlna; the Nizam's to Ellicypoor; and the Bhoosla Raja's, immediately on its then expected establishment, to the banks of the Nerbudda. There would thus be a display of nearly 40,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry, besides artillery, in readiness to put down any disposition that might be shown, to obstruct the execution of the plan determined on by government.

It may be right to mention, that the Jypoor territory lay entirely to the north and west of the Chumbul; and the principality, so far from being included amongst those Rajpoot states, with which we had bound ourselves by treaty with Holkar and Sindheea not to interfere, at the time of forming those treaties was actually under British protection, the resolution to dissolve the alliance having been subsequently formed: wherefore, there was evidently no argument arising out of our relations with the Mahrattas, on which our right to renew the alliance could be disputed.

Before the military arrangements above specified were brought to any forwardness, the negotiation had already been some time in progress. To return to it, Mr. Metcalf, on receipt of his instructions, took an early opportunity of communicating to the Jypoor vakeel, that he was ready to receive the overtures of the principality, in case an agent duly empowered to conclude engagements on its part should present himself. Notwithstanding the earnestness with which entreaties were made to be taken under protection, while it was understood to be a matter of principle with us, not to extend our political relations beyond their existing limits, it became evident, after this communication, that there existed no corresponding desire to bring matters

speedily to a point. Ameer Khan only threatened Jypoor, when Mr. Metcalfe made this offer to negotiate. He had actually invested the capital, before the negotiators arrived at Dehlee furnished with full powers. As long as the Patans continued to press the siege, the negotiation proceeded with apparent alacrity. Every thing indeed was soon agreed to, except the amount of subsidy to be paid by the Raja: this point also was at length settled. Mr. Metcalfe had begun with a demand of twenty-five lack rupees, the amount of the total charge of the troops to be furnished for the protection of the state. He was afterwards induced to lower his demand to fifteen lack rupees for the permanent subsidy, with the accommodation of considerable remissions during the first five years, in consideration of the impoverished condition of the territory. Pending the siege of Jynagurh, the negotiation was kept in that state, that an hour's time would have sufficed for its completion. It seems, however, that a separate negotiation was kept up all the while with Ameer Khan; and the threat of bringing down upon him a British force, which a mere signature could instantly effect, was held out as an inducement to his raising the siege. He withdrew early in the month of July, after having failed in several attempts to carry some strong positions necessary to cover his approaches to the city; but not without exacting a stipulation to receive a sum of money as the ransom of the Raja's territory from plunder, and as the consideration for reducing Madhoorajpoor, a town in the jageer of one of the Raja's family, then in rebellion against him. The ~~first~~ ~~negotiation~~ first ~~observed~~ observed on neither side; but Ameer Khan, with part of his troops, moved down to reduce Madhoorajpoor, in execution of the last article; doubtless with the object of appropriating it to himself. Other bodies of the Patans immediately spread themselves over the surface of the country, plundering, as before, in every direction.

About the time that these terms were made with Ameer Khan, every thing had been settled at Dehlee; but the Jypoor agents were forthwith instructed to bring forward a new demand, viz. that our troops should reduce Tonk and Rampoor, and re-annex them to Jypoor, in addition to the other stipulations. These places had been taken by us from Holkar, and restored at the peace of 1805. They were now held on his behalf by Ameer Khan, whom we had agreed to expel from the Raja's own possessions; and, as these towns had at some distant period been subject to Jypoor, this was the ground of their reduction being now demanded. The negotiation was of course broken off upon the advance of this new demand. Indeed, the Supreme Government had previously directed it to be brought to some decided issue, on first observing the insidious way, in which it was conducted by the other side. The indifference manifested by the durbar of Jypoor on this occasion to the advantages attending a closer union with the British, is perhaps in part attributable to the general reluctance felt by the petty independent princes to make any indissoluble alliances, on terms apparently calculated to interfere with the unrestrained latitude of political action they had hitherto enjoyed. All our alliances with states of this description have necessarily a character of dependence on their part, and on that account are not very palatable. Yet a more obvious mode of accounting for the disinclination experienced on this occasion may be found in the actual circumstances of the internal government of Jypoor. The whole territory was parcelled out into hereditary tenures of the nature of the fiefs or baronies of the feudal ~~system~~ ~~over~~ ~~the~~ the Raja, a weak man, had much about the same degree of influence and authority, as was possessed by the weakest of the kings of England, when the same system prevailed in that country. The continual war of factions was prosecuted with the utmost virulence. Since the preceding November, the

Jypoor ministry had been twice changed. Manjee ~~Dew~~ party, which was the most aristocratical and most hostile to the Patans, had ultimately gained the ascendancy; and the strong national spirit it succeeded in exciting amongst the Rajpoots, was one of the principal instruments, by which the enterprise of Ameer Khan was successfully resisted. No member of this aristocracy, however, would willingly exchange a state of things, which leaves so wide an opening to his hopes and ambition, for the perpetual repose and tranquillity that must result from the introduction of our influence. This disposition might be expected to have prevailed, even if we had offered a settlement on the basis of leaving matters as we found them; but there was reason for the aristocracy to suspect, that our guarantee of maintaining the Raja's authority comprehended the enforcement of his just dues from themselves; and their suspicions naturally made them oppose the completion of the alliance. Besides, their success in baffling the Patans with their native means alone, had added much to the pride of their independence, and increased their aversion to allow the interference of a foreign power in their concerns.

It was in the beginning of August that Mr. Metcalfe broke off the negotiation, dismissing the agent, Sunkur ~~Dew~~, who had been sent on behalf of ~~Purn~~ Singh. The Supreme-Government had hopes, that some little longer experience of the excesses of the Patans would produce a better feeling in the leading men of this principality; and not wishing to punish the duplicity of their past conduct, by making it a ground of perpetual exclusion from the benefits of future alliance, empowered the resident to receive any new overtures that might bear the aspect of more sincerity. It was resolved, at the same time, thenceforward to make no military preparations, until a treaty should be actually signed and executed, in order to prevent the recurrence of a fruitless expense. Before the close of September, the know-

ledge of the final rupture of the negotiation produced a stir amongst the factions of Jynagurh; and a considerable party expressed great dissatisfaction against Manjee ~~Doss~~ to whom the failure was attributed. To quiet the murmurs of this party, for the event showed it was with no real design of completing the alliance, agents were again sent off to Dehlee, the minister's brother being associated with Sunkur ~~Doss~~ in the mission. On the 17th of November they arrived at Dehlee, and soon after waited on the British Resident. At the first audience they declared, that, knowing the wishes of the British Government, from what had passed at the former negotiation, they had come to conform to them, and to sign the treaty before proposed; but that they wished first to submit a few requests to the Governor-General, leaving it to his generosity to accord them or not. The reduction and delivery of Tonk and Rampoor was their first request; this Mr. Metcalfe refused to forward or listen to; the second was for jageers or pensions to the negotiators, similar to what had been granted at Nâgpoor; and the third for a promise, that they should always have a good-tempered gentleman as Resident. The request for pensions, as a matter of stipulation, was absurd, considering that the negotiation was not on the footing of reciprocal advantage, and that there was no object to be acquired by the British worth a pecuniary sacrifice; the occasion of our treating at all being the compliance with their solicitation for salvation by our means from impending ruin. Mr. Metcalfe having combated these points rather with ridicule than argument, proceeded to state an omission in the draft of treaty before discussed, viz. the stipulation for our arbitration of all foreign disputes and claims, either for or against the principality. The greatest objections were raised to the insertion of any such article; the chief of which appeared to arise from an apprehension, that it might extend to the adjudication of the title to the Raj of Jypoor, to which there was more than one claimant

against ~~Jyves~~ Singh, particularly a pretender still living, who had been supported at one time by Sindheea. The scruples of the negotiators in respect to this article could not be got over, even although this construction was disavowed. The conference accordingly broke up, with a distinct explanation to Sunkur ~~Doss~~ and his colleague, that the insertion of this new article was insisted upon under special ~~orders~~ from the Supreme Government; consequently, that the point could on no account be conceded. Two days were allowed them to consider of it: the third was fixed for a second conference, at which they would be expected to sign the treaty, with this article introduced, either in the form proposed, or so modified as might be agreed upon in the interim; or, if matters could not be adjusted by that time, the negotiation would be dropped altogether. This restriction in point of time was necessary, to prevent the government of Jypoor from again making its advantage of the show of negotiation, without any intention to bring it to a point. Continued opposition being manifested to the stipulation for our arbitrament, it occurred to the Resident, that the secret reason might be, the fear lest the liquidation of certain bonds, given at different times to Patan Sirdars, would be comprehended under its terms. To exclude this interpretation, he agreed so to word the article, as to confine it to claims of tribute or other demands on the part of Sindheea and Holkar as independent powers. In this form the negotiators waived their objections to the stipulation. But when the time came for the treaty to be signed, a new and extraordinary objection was started to the usual engagement to procure the ratification of Raja ~~Jyves~~ Singh within fifteen days. The negotiators seemed to wish our representative to be satisfied with their signature, and to act upon their treaty, without requiring its ratification by their master. ~~They~~ were told, however, in answer, that, if they objected ~~to this article~~, they must take their immediate de-

parture; and as they made no other reply than to ~~solicit~~^{elicit} a delay of twenty days for the discussion of the point, not for procuring the required confirmation, the treaty was a second time abruptly terminated, with no more successful issue than the former.

It was now most evident, that the object of the Jypoor administration was, to keep open a negotiation, not to conclude a treaty. Manjee ~~Dow~~^{Dow} a short time after the return of the agents, declared publicly to the British news-writer at Jynagurh, that he had never authorised the negotiators at Dehlee to agree to any stipulation for a money payment. It is difficult to conceive what could have been the object of this extraordinary communication; but it was supposed to arise from a wish to ingratiate himself with the party adverse to the British alliance. He lost nothing in their eyes by this public profession of duplicity; and on its being made matter of remonstrance by the resident at Dehlee, replied only by evasion and further falsehood; declaring, that the amount of subsidy was what he had not agreed to; although, when the agents presented themselves the second time, it was distinctly explained beforehand, that, unless they were empowered to sign the treaty before proposed, of which the specific money stipulation formed an item, they could not be listened to; and the negotiators, after this intimation, declared, at their first audience, that they had come empowered to sign.

Immediately on the rupture of the first negotiation in August, the military preparations which had been made for its eventual support were suspended; and the troops destined for this being now available for other service, a force was directed to be formed under Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, of the 10th B. N. I., and to hold itself in readiness to proceed to the Nerbudda at the close of the rains, in order to relieve the Madras troops there stationed under Colonel Walker, ~~of which~~^{of which} for the present the Nagpore subsidiary force. ~~was to be sent~~

In the mean time, Appa Saheb, who in June had taken refuge at a garden-house adjoining to the new cantonment, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, became relieved from his alarms. Having seized and confined Naroba, the secretary, and established another of the widows of Ragojee in the control of the interior of the palace, and care of the Raja's person, in the room of Buka Bae, he returned to the city, and his authority was in appearance firmly established by the end of August. Goojaba Dada, who had likewise been an opponent of the regent, but was in the main a moderate man, and besides a relation, was merely debarred from indiscriminate access to the Raja's person; and Sudeek Ulee Khan, seeing the turn affairs had taken, paid assiduous court to the Naceb, and in a very short time acquired an influence seemingly little inferior to that of Nagoo Punt and Nerafun themselves. The two last mentioned favourites, indeed, complained to Mr. Jenkins, that the interested counsels of this officer had induced Appa Saheb to renounce his original design of reducing and reforming his military establishments, by which means Sudeek ~~Allee~~ Khan had preserved to himself the chief military authority, with all its corrupt emoluments. In October, however, the old advisers of Appa Saheb so far prevailed, as to induce him to apply for a battalion, to be raised and disciplined by British officers, on the model of the reformed infantry in the Nizam's service. The Governor-General acquiesced at once in the proposal, and nominated officers for the purpose. The object of this application was, to provide a further counterpoise to the Arabs, whose fidelity to himself he still mistrusted, on account of their known personal attachment to the son of Ragojee, their late master. Yet this step seemed to indicate a degree of confidence and cordiality towards his new allies, little consistent with the treachery of his subsequent conduct. To say the truth, there is ground to conclude, from this and other symptoms, that Appa

Salieb, while Pursajee remained alive, was not engaged in the conspiracy, which had been for some time in progress for a general rising of the whole Mahratta nation.

In the beginning of October, Colonel Walker moved to take up the position assigned to him, on the banks of the Nerbudda. His operations in that quarter, and the effect of the appearance of a British force so near the immediate haunts of the Pindarees, together with their plans and expeditions for the season of 1816-17, will more properly form the subject of a separate chapter. But it may first be necessary to notice briefly what was passing during the rains at the other Mahratta courts.

Sindhoea made no effort to avail himself of the distractions at the Bhoosla court, consequent upon the death of Ragoojee: indeed, the expedition with which the treaty of subsidiary alliance was negotiated by Mr. Jenkins, and the secrecy observed in the conduct of that affair, had left no time for the operation of foreign intrigue, much less for the machinations of a durbar, so slow in its deliberations as that of Gwalior. In the same manner this chieftain refrained entirely from further interference in the affairs of Bhopâl; so that the young Nuwab, having retained his father's counsellors in their offices, continued to make head against the Pindarees, and to command their respect: keeping up at the same time an active correspondence with the political agent in Bundelkhund, explaining every thing that passed between him and the freebooters, and professing his desire to become, or at least to be considered, a dependent of the British dominion. Neither did Sindhoea make any effort whatever, in the course of 1816, to curb or reduce the Pindarees, notwithstanding that the subject was specially brought to his notice by the British Resident, on more occasions than one. His constant reply was, that repeated orders had been issued, prohibiting their violation of the British territories; and that time and negotiation were necessary to

bring the refractory chiefs to implicit obedience. It was explained in private to the Resident upon one occasion, that Sindheea's plan was to inveigle the chiefs to an interview, and, by seizing their persons, to deprive the durras of their leaders, and cause their dissolution. It was evident, ~~that~~ from the general tenor of his conduct, that he began to be alarmed, lest he should be visited with the whole responsibility for an evil, which his weakness had suffered to grow up within his dominions. He was moreover beginning to have a more accurate notion of his relative strength than he had entertained before the discussions in 1814, when he thought, by the loftiness of his tone, to restrain the British Government from interfering with Bhopâl. In short, anxiety and alarm were fast succeeding to the jealous rivalry and contentious spirit, which the violent among his courtiers still vainly flattered him was the policy, warranted and demanded, by his relative position amongst the powers of India. To this cause, and to habitual tardiness of judgment, is to be attributed the supineness with which Sindheea witnessed the extension of our influence over the dominions of the Bhoosla, and which, though it in the end produced the determination to temporize with both parties, and, if possible, to keep well with both, till he could see the probable issue of affairs, yet prevented any exertion to court our favour by a vigorous and early effort against the Pindarees, the common enemy. Another reason for his want of energy at this juncture may be found in the circumstance, that his best troops, under Baptiste, were fully employed in the siege of Ragoogurh, a fort belonging to a Rajpoot, named Raja Jysingh. That active chief, while his own strong hold was closely invested, succeeded in a sudden surprise of Baptiste's fort of Sheecopoor, where the son and part of the treasure of the Colonel had been deposited for safety. This passed in the beginning of June; and, though the fort of Ragoogurh fell in the following August, Jysingh, as a

partisan, gave full occupation to the whole of Baptiste's division, and had good success in several light skirmishes and attacks on detachments and convoys during the whole of the rains, and even up to the close of the cold season. At length, having lost his late conquest of Sheeopoor also by the treachery of his garrison, he went off with his followers to form a new band of Pindarees, and was not unsuccessful in his depredations on the territories of Sindheea, more particularly on Baptiste's assigned lands.

Yet notwithstanding the indifference manifested by Sindheea to the passing occurrences at Nâgpoor and on the Nerbudda, the opening of the British negotiation with Jypoor seemed to waken him to the policy of a counter-exertion, for the purpose of securing some personal advantage. He accordingly opened a similar negotiation, tendering the assistance of his military means towards restraining the Patans; and, in furtherance of this object, sent a reinforcement to Bapoo Sindheea at Ajimeer, to add to the efficiency of his establishment in that quarter. The Jypoor durbar amused Sindheea for some time with the hope of accepting his protection, pretty nearly in the same manner as they amused the British Government; but the Mahratta meeting this conduct with reciprocal duplicity opened a further negotiation with Ameer Khan, and in proportion as coolness was evinced on the part of the Raja, pretended a cordiality with the Patan, in the hope of alarming the Jypoor ministry by the apprehension, that his weight would be thrown into the opposite scale. But Jypoor had no real design of connecting itself with any one; and while it relied on the known disposition of the British to afford it protection, as a sufficient resource against any extremity the united efforts of the Patans and Sindheea could reduce it to, reckoned also upon the deterring influence of this knowledge, as its best protection against any actual design on their part to drive it to this last resort. Sind-

heea's plans came, therefore, to the same issue with the British negotiations; that is to say, produced no result whatsoever.

At the court of Poona nothing particular occurred; but the conduct of the Pêshwa's government was an alternation of concessions, subservience, and conciliation, and of a spirit of recrimination and litigious opposition. The prince himself assumed either character, with a versatility, that seemed to baffle every attempt to penetrate his real disposition and intentions. In this spirit, at one time he ordered extensive levies of horse and foot, and at another reduced his establishments to the lowest possible ebb: at one time he complained of the delays thrown in the way of the adjustment of his claims on the Nizam and Gykwar; at other times himself created new and very childish ones. All the while, every nerve was strained to procure the release of Trimbukjee, and every advantage, personal as well as national, was offered to Mr. Elphinstone through various channels, to engage him to forward this grand object of ~~his~~ desire. Active intrigues were at the same time carrying on in Hindoostan and Guzerât, and special agents deputed to all the Mahratta courts, to persuade them to join the proposed coalition, promising advantages to those who were not prepared for open hostility, if they would but aid, by keeping up the appearance of concert; ~~whom~~ anticipated a reduction of our tone, and a greater degree of deference to the general wish of the Mahratta nation. The British residents exerted themselves with activity to penetrate into all these intrigues, and generally with complete success. Those of the Pêshwa at the court of Holkar, were made the subject of a special remonstrance, and produced abundance of protestations, but no change of conduct. Even Futteh Sing Gykwar was a party to these designs, and gave way for some time to the dangerous counsels of low companions and men adverse to the British connexion; but this disposition was overcome in him without any resort to strong

measures, by the operation of his own good sense and experience of the solid advantages of the alliance, and by the judicious advice and moderation of the resident at his court.

On the 12th of September, to the surprise of all, Trimbukjee Dainglia succeeded in escaping from his confinement in Tannah, notwithstanding that the precaution had been taken of garrisoning the fort entirely with Europeans, of whom a guard was continually mounted to observe his personal movements. The escape was effected at eight o'clock at night, through a hole in the wall of the privy, which being detached from the place of actual confinement, communicated on the other side with a stable belonging to one of the officers of the garrison. By accustoming the sentries to attend him to this place at the same hour of the night, their suspicions were lulled to sleep, and he was suffered to enter alone, while the sentry with the light remained without, in a situation, whence he could not see ~~what~~ passed within. The preparations for this escape were made by a man who had, with this design, taken service as *syde*, or horsekeeper, to the officer living in the adjoining premises, and who disappeared along with the prisoner. His communications with Trimbukjee are supposed to have passed while he was leading the horse under his care near the prison-door and the terrace, on which ~~Trimbukjee~~ was allowed to walk : for at these times this *syde* was generally observed to be singing Mahratta songs, which the European sentries did not understand nor suspect. It was some minutes before the escape was discovered, and the night being dark and rainy, Trimbukjee had slipped off his clothes and crossed the rampart by a rope previously attached to one of the guns, before the alarm was given, and thus gained the other side of the narrow and shallow channel separating Salsette from the Mahratta territories, before measures could be taken to intercept the passage.

The resident at Poona was informed of this event by ex-

press. He immediately communicated the news to the Pêshwa, declaring that the Governor-General would expect the utmost efforts to be made by his Highness for the re-apprehension of this delinquent, as a necessary proof of attachment to the British Government; while to afford him protection either overtly or underhand, would infallibly produce the mischiefs that had been avoided by his surrender. Bajee Rao wished to avail himself of the escape, to alter the terms on which his favourite had before been given up, and to make his own exertions for the re-apprehension conditional, on receiving a promise, that the prisoner should hereafter remain in his own custody. This attempt was of course resisted: but the fugitive for some time eluded all efforts to discover the place of his retreat; and there could be no doubt that Bajee Rao abetted his concealment, notwithstanding his open professions to the contrary.

Thus have the political events of India been traced to the close of the rainy season of 1816, about the middle of the month of October of that year.

CHAPTER VIII.

PINDAREES.

1816-17, OCTOBER TO APRIL.

Nâgpoor subsidiary force moves to the Nerbudda—Pindarees alarmed—their first effort—grand expedition in three divisions—1st to Ganjam—2d to Bidur—surprised by Major M'Dowal—exploit of Sheikh Dulloo—3d to Ahmednugur—surprised by Major Lushington—Ganjam penetrated—Borthwick's pursuit—1st party intercepted—reflections—resolution to extirpate the hordes—motives—Sindhceea—Holkar—Dya-Ram of Hatras—his fort invested and bombarded—his escape—fort taken.

EARLY in October 1816, Lieutenant-Colonel Walker had moved, as abovementioned, with the main body of the Nâgpoor subsidiary force, to take up the position assigned to him on the southern bank of the Nerbudda. By the 25th of the month, his defensive line was completed. It extended from ~~Sindhceea~~ which lies 27 miles S. S. W. of Hoshungabad, to Sirinugur, 120 miles east of the same place. With all the advantages of favourable ground, the force, consisting of but five battalions of infantry, and one regiment of cavalry, was evidently unequal to the defence of so extended a line; more especially as the Raja's contingent was in no ~~fitting~~ condition to afford effectual assistance. One of Colonel Walker's posts was no less than 90 miles distant from its nearest *appui*. But the first appearance of a British army in the valley of the Nerbudda spread consternation amongst the Pindarees; and Cheetoo's durra, which occupied the cantonment of Nemawur, on the northern bank, a

little lower down the river, prepared to retire with their families in the direction of the Ghâts into Malwa. In the apprehension of an immediate attack, the preparations which had been making for an expedition to the south, when the river should be fordable, were suspended: and some time was lost by the chiefs of durras, in forwarding intreaties to Sindheea for an asylum for their families in some of his ~~many~~ numerous strong holds, while they prepared for a desultory contest with the army, whose approach they daily expected. Sindheea openly rejected all such applications, notwithstanding that they were accompanied with an intimation, that unless he helped them in this emergency, his territories should no longer enjoy immunity from ravage. Some of his military commanders, however, and a party in his ministry, privately gave them hopes of ultimately obtaining their object, in case matters came to extremity; assuring them that all public acts and professions were merely intended to save appearances with the English.

Enboldened in some measure by these assurances, and by observing that the British troops did not cross the Nerbudda, the several durras came to the resolution of pushing small parties between Colonel Walker's posts, and round his flanks, and thus pursuing the same system of predatory incursion into the British territories, that had in the past year been so ~~very~~ ~~not~~ successful. On the 4th of November, a party crossed near Hindia, half of which proceeded on the Boorhanpoor road, and the other half towards ~~Amboornee~~ ~~Amboornee~~. Colonel Walker immediately moved with a light force upon Hurda, to intercept their route; and, after a vain pursuit for some distance along the Boorhanpoor road, succeeded by a sudden march eastward, in falling in with the latter party, while bivouacked in the jungle on the night of the 5th. This body suffered an inconsiderable loss, and fled precipitately back across the river. Similar attempts to pass were not renewed till the 13th, when the plan

which had been agreed upon by the chiefs, in the interim, was carried into execution. Cheetoo's durra still continued in force to the west. At the same time, large bodies moved to the east, and upwards of 5000 passed the river in sight of the infantry post, on the extreme right of Colonel Walker's line, with a rapidity of movement, which baffled the efforts of the infantry to impede or harass their march; ~~and~~ the regiment of cavalry was on the opposite flank. In this manner the passage was effected, in sufficient numbers to form two *luhburs*, (expeditions), one of which continued its progress due east, and, penetrating by the route of Mundela, Chuteesgurh, and the forests and mountains forming the northern and eastern frontier of the Nâgpoor dominions, burst suddenly into the Company's district of Ganjam, with the evident and avowed intention of turning thence to Cuttack and Juggurnâth. By good fortune, the turbulent character of the Rajas and landholders of Ganjam had caused the district to be well furnished with troops, and the *luhbur* was driven back before it could penetrate to any distance, as will presently be mentioned more particularly. The other body of these Pindarees took a southward direction, and passed within 20 miles of Nâgpoor with impunity, notwithstanding that an effort was made to intercept them, by a light detachment from the ~~infantry~~ brigade remaining at that city. They then crossed the Wurda into the Nizam's territory, before Colonel Doveton could bring up troops for the defence of that line, from the position he occupied to shut the Ghâts in the valley of the Poorna, in which quarter he was looking out for these marauders. This body, which at the lowest estimate amounted to 6000, was on the Godaveree, at Neermul, on the 15th of December, and at Bidur on the 21st; up to which point it had marched leisurely without interruption, or fatiguing its horses, plundering a broad line of country on either side of its track. The *luhbur* continued some time in the neighbourhood of Bidur, while the

chiefs remained indecisive, as to the prosecution of the ulterior design of penetrating into the Company's ceded districts on the other side of the Kishna and Toomboodra. Their indecision proved the ruin of the enterprise, as it afforded time for a light force, detached from Hyderabad for this purpose, under Major M'Dowal, to give the main body a complete surprise, about 80 miles to the west of Bidur. This occurred ~~before~~ daylight in the morning of the 15th of January; and such was the security into ~~which~~ the Pindarees had been lulled by their hitherto uninterrupted progress, that the infantry were close in upon the tents of the chiefs before they were discovered, and hardly a man of the party was mounted, by the time the first volley was discharged. The greater part of the horses and booty of the main division of this *luhbur* was abandoned on the rapid advance of the infantry. One leader, however, indignant at the want of energy betrayed by those vested with the chief command of the expedition, had carried away a body of from 3 to 500, a few days before this discomfiture; and, passing rapidly across the Pêshwa's territory, descended into the Konkan by the Amba Ghât in the western range, and thence shaped his course due north, ~~travelling~~ ^{wandering} the western shores of India, from the 17th to the 21st degree of north latitude, and returning by the valley of the ~~Waptee~~ ^{Waptee}, and the route of Boorhanpoor, The conductor of this bold enterprise was a man named Sheikh Dulloo, and the singular hardihood of the exploit, joined to the uncommon skill and rapidity with which it was conducted, saved it from the fate which overtook every other expedition of the kind this season. The only loss Sheikh Dulloo sustained from British troops was, when, on his return to the Nerbudda, in the following March, he found the ford, by which he hoped to re-cross to Cheetoo's durra, guarded by a ^havildar's party of our sepoys. Several of his men were shot in attempting to dash across; but Sheikh Dulloo himself, with his main body, and

best mounted followers, retiring from the ghât, boldly swam the river lower down, though not without a further loss of men and horses, several of whom were drowned in the attempt. The ill mounted and less daring of the band dispersed and fled into the jungle on the southern bank of the river, where the greater part were cut off by the wild inhabitants of the neighbourhood. ~~There~~ 260 Pindarees of the first and second classes, of which the band had consisted when it separated from the *luhbur* at Bidur, only 110 joined the durra; but these ~~secured~~ a rich booty in their saddles; and the brilliancy of the achievement added even more to their reputation than its success had done to their wealth.

Besides the above two bodies of Pindarees, which had turned the right flank of Colonel Walker's line, another detachment from Cheetoo's durra had succeeded in making good its route by the Boorhanpoor road, as above mentioned. It was subsequently reinforced, and succeeded in passing the valley of the Taptee and ghâts of Berar, notwithstanding the dispositions made for their defence. This body passed between Aungmyabath and Jâlma on the 28th of November, and moved direct upon Ahmednugur. The Poona subsidiary force was not ~~able~~ in position for the defence of the Pêshwa's frontiers against such incursions, a considerable part of the light troops having been called down to the south, where their presence was required to awe Appa Dussace into submission. This man was a powerful southern jageerdar, who had subjected himself, by continued contumacy, to the penalty of a forfeiture of one-third of his jageer; and the forfeiture was enforced by calling down a British detachment at the close of the rainy season, which did not completely effect the object until the middle of December 1816. On the 25th of this month, while on his route to the northward with the 4th Madras native cavalry, which had formed part of the force employed to the south, Major Lushington obtained intel-

ligence that ~~this~~ body of Pindarees was ~~at~~ the S. E. of Poona. He was at the time at Pupulwaree, twenty-five miles distant; but as the Pindarees were ignorant of his being in the neighbourhood, and were plundering at their leisure in fancied security, there was every hope of falling in with them: at all events, he resolved to make the effort. After an unremitting march of upwards of fifty miles, from one o'clock in the morning of the 26th, the Major succeeded in coming up with the *luhbur*, at the time the Pindarees were cooking and eating after a long march. The surprise was complete; and, as the ground was favourable for the pursuit of cavalry, a very large proportion was cut up. The loss of the freebooters was estimated to be very great, as between 7 and 800 were left on the field. The only casualty on the part of the British was the death of Captain Darke, who received a spear through the body. A man of his troop had turned from the charge of a Pindara, armed in this manner; and, indignant at the sight, this spirited officer himself rushed forward, and fell a victim to the superiority of the weapon in skilful hands. The Pindara was immediately cut to pieces by Captain Darke's men. This *luhbur*, ~~that~~ surprised a few days afterwards by Major M'Dowall, ~~was~~ suffered so severely, that ~~they~~ broke up, and fled back to the Nerbudda in the utmost confusion. However, before ~~they~~ could arrive on ~~the~~ banks, the passes and ghâts were so well guarded, that the greater part of the fugitives perished, and but few reached the durras they had left in November. A ~~remnant of the party~~ surprised by M'Dowall, was conducted across the river with great skill by its leader, who succeeded in making his way by the Charwa road, before the party sent to interrupt him by Colonel Walker arrived to occupy it.

The Ganjam expedition is the only one that remains to be accounted for. This body was composed almost entirely of men

from Wasil Mahommed's durra. It crossed the British frontier in the middle of December, marching upon Kimmedy, to which place Lieutenant Tweedle, who was on the frontier with a company of Madras native infantry, retired as the *luhbur* advanced. Emboldened by this, the Pindarees attacked the town, and succeeded in burning and plundering part of it on the night of the 19th of December, though Major Oliver was there with three companies of infantry. Having ascertained that their camp was but two miles distant, this officer determined to surprise it before morning, and met with complete success, occasioning considerable loss to the *luhbur*, notwithstanding the smallness of his force and his utter want of cavalry. In the course of the following morning the whole band moved off, taking the direct road to Ganjam, before which they appeared on the 25th. They plundered part of the town in haste, and retired through Goomsir. Lieutenant Borthwick instantly commenced a most active pursuit. On the 27th he fell in with about 1000, of whom he destroyed twenty men and fifty horses; but, not satisfied with this success, he resolved to beat up the Pindara camp, which, in their confidence from knowing the British troops to be infantry only, he rightly judged would not be far off. Leaving a jemadar's party to pursue the direct road, he himself, with fifty men of his company, took a circuitous route, so as to fall upon the enemy from the opposite quarter. His success was very brilliant; and soon after the Pindarees disappeared from the province, abandoning the hope of being able to penetrate into Cuttack, and disheartened by the losses already sustained.

In the mean time, the advance division of the Bengal troops, destined to relieve Colonel Walker, had moved down to the Nerbudda; and Major M'Morine, who commanded, leaving a detachment at Jubulpoor on his arrival at that point on the 1st of January, so disposed the rest of his force, under Colonel

Walker's orders, as to extend the defensive line thence to Sirinugur, and allow of the Madras troops before stationed at the latter point being called in to strengthen and complete the chain of posts from Sirinugur to Hoshungabad and Soonee. Wâsil Mahommed, seeing these further preparations, became apprehensive for the safety of the *luhbur* he had sent out, and despatched *hircaras* in every direction to warn them against returning by the same route, with positive injunctions to keep well to the north. This, however, availed them little; for Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, who was in the course of January moving down in the same direction with the main body of the Bengal troops, sent forward parties to occupy the ghâts and passes from Chandya northwards to Bundelkhund, so as effectually to intercept the return of any body of marauders from the east towards the Sâgur district, near which Wâsil Mahommed had fixed his head-quarters. These arrangements completely answered the purpose. On the 24th of January, Captain Caulfield, who was furthest in advance, heard of the approach of the *luhbur* from Ganjam, and fell upon them in the night with a squadron of the 5th Bengal cavalry, while attempting to return by the Chandya road. He captured 400 horses; and the number of the slain was estimated at the same amount. Ramzan Khan, the leader of the party, was ascertained to be amongst these; the chief next in rank had previously fallen in one of Lieutenant Borthwick's attacks. The fugitives, after this discomfiture, made an effort to escape by a pass further to the north, where, on the 26th, they fell in with Major Clarke and the main body of the 5th Bengal cavalry, who cut up about 150 more. This expedition, therefore, which was the only one that penetrated the British frontier, suffered yet more severely than either of the other two. A small part of the advance, that had passed between Chandya and Jubulpoor, before Colonel Adams's detachments had taken

up their positions, were all of those engaged in it who escaped unmolested in their return homewards*.

No further attempt was made this season to pass into the Dukhun, or to get beyond the defensive posts, connecting the frontier of our possessions in Bundelkhund with those of the Bhoosla Raja. From January forward the Pindarees carried on their trade of plunder for mere subsistence, and exclusively above the ghâts in Malwa; while such was the alacrity of the troops occupying the defensive line, that, towards the end of the season, a band from Wâsil's durra having ventured too far to the eastward, to ravage the country between Bundelkhund and Sâgur, was surprised and driven back with loss by the rapid advance of a squadron of the 4th Bengal native cavalry, under Captain Ridge, from their post at Lohargâon. A party that came to the bank of the Nerbudda to reconnoitre, and ascertain the practicability of a passage, was in like manner stopped by the guard on the southern bank, while Major Clarke (the Bengal troops having by that time completely relieved those of Madras) crossed the river with cavalry at a different ford, and cut them up as they retired across the valley in their way to the hills that form the barrier of Malwa.

Such were the proceedings of the Pindaree hordes during the season of 1816-17, and such the military operations against them. Their plan of depredation this year embraced a more ample expanse of territory, than had ever before been attempted, extending from shore to shore of the peninsula of India, and including all the intermediate provinces that had been spared the ravage of the preceding year. The report of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop to the Marquess of Hastings represented their different columns as amounting by his estimate

* This party was hotly but unsuccessfully pursued by infantry from Jubulpoor, under Major Popham.

to 23,000 horse. This inroad had been foreseen to the full extent, and the precautionary measures of the British were consequently on a proportionate scale of magnitude. After the Bengal troops had crossed the Nerbudda to relieve Colonel Walker, there were no less than 32,000 regulars of the King's or Company's forces between that river and the Kishna, besides the reformed infantry and cavalry of the Nizam and the Pêshwa's brigade, which, though paid by our allies, were in effect devoted to the same service with their officers. In addition to the above force in advance, the utmost efforts had been made to arm the northern frontier of our immediate possessions in the Dukhun, to guard against a similar attempt to that of the preceding year; so that altogether the military effort on the side of Madras was nearly as great, as it would have been in the event of operations of the most decisive kind. Notwithstanding all this, it was rather to good fortune on our part, and to a relaxation of vigilance and activity on that of the enemy, than to our own exertions, that we must attribute the overtaking of the two larger bodies, and their severe chastisement by Majors Lushington and McDowall. So, likewise, the opportune march of Colonel Adams to the south most materially contributed to afford the means of completely intercepting the third expedition, which had penetrated into Ganjam. Thus it was accident, not the merits of our defensive policy, that had yielded us so much more brilliant successes this year than the last, and no argument could be drawn from them in favour of the security of any combination of defensive arrangements. To build a system for the future upon the experience of this season, ~~that should~~ provide only for similar results, would involve an annual preparation on the same enormous scale of expense; and even by the most favourable calculation, would not secure our provinces from invasion, and our subjects from the horrors of Pindara ~~depredations~~ although we might, in some cases, happen to inflict

signal vengeance on the marauders, on their way homeward incumbered with spoil.

The insufficiency of stationary posts of defence was abundantly shown by the early success of the Pindarees in penetrating Colonel Walker's line; and it stands to reason, that if a light assailant of this description be allowed time to ascertain precisely at what points the covering force may be expected to be found, he will always be able so to choose his line of route, and to regulate the length of his marches, as to baffle the utmost vigilance of such stationary defenders, when they are under an interdict not to advance and meet the danger, or crush it in the embryo. The conviction of this disadvantage produced an alteration of policy before the close of the season: for Colonel Adams obtained permission to cross the Nerbudda, and the officers in post to the south of Bundelkhund to advance westward even into Sâgur, in case an enemy should approach: whereas antecedently, the southern bank of the Nerbudda, or more generally the frontier of our own territories and that of our protected allies, had been fixed as the limit of their operations. The two successful affairs of April were attributable to this judicious alteration.

The policy and views entertained respectively by the British Government and by the native potentates of India regarding the Pindarees in the course of this season will now be shortly explained. The Governor-General in council had, as before mentioned, come to the resolution of waiting the arrival of the sanction of the home authorities to commence offensive measures for their ~~suppression~~. In the interval ~~that~~ Hastings trusted, that the advantage of defence acquired by the Nâgpoor alliance might, in some degree deter, or at least enable us to repel aggression, either on ourselves or our allies. Early in the season, however, he became sensible of the futility of such expectations; and even before the storm had burst upon Ganjam, the council came to

the unanimous resolution to defer no longer the extirpation of these banditti. On the 21st of December 1816, this determination was formed, and Lord Hastings gave immediate notice of his intention to proceed in person to the scene of action, and to spare no efforts to accomplish the object in spite of any obstacles that might be raised by open or secret foes. With respect to the time, it was resolved not to commence until the following season, unless the formation of the Jypoor alliance should require operations against Ameer Khan, in which case his Lordship proposed to enter upon immediate action. This not having taken place, his departure for the upper provinces was fixed for the following rains, that is to say, the month of June or July. It was still considered doubtful, whether Sindheca would be induced to co-operate with us in this important object, or yield to the importunity of alternate entreaty and menace, addressed to him from the several durras. The certain opposition of Ameer Khan, or at least of his Patan mercenaries, and the probable secret counteraction of the Peshwa, were confidently anticipated: but with the resources of the Nizam and of the Bhoosla, who was supposed to be equally staunch, added to our own strength in that quarter of India, there appeared little hazard of failure. But his Lordship resolved to place himself above that little, by calling into play the whole disposable means of the three presidencies, according to a comprehensive plan, which will hereafter be particularly developed. The resolution to undertake active measures was formed not only without any assurance of support from the home authorities, but at a time when the Supreme Government had reason to believe that a contrary disposition prevailed at the India House.

It must be observed, that there had not yet been time to learn their sentiments on receiving information of the storm having burst upon their own district of Guntoor. This intelligence arrived in the course of the month of September 1816.

and seems to have wrought an immediate change in their aversion to offensive operations. When the Supreme Government resolved to wait no longer for the expected sanction from home, no answer to its second reference had yet been received.

The repeated violations of our own territory, and the experience of the utter futility of defensive arrangements, irresistibly impelled the Governor-General to this course; and his Lordship felt confident, a confidence justified by the result, if the result of a measure can ever be admitted to afford a fair test of its merit, that a knowledge of these circumstances would awaken the authorities in England to a sense of the magnitude of the evil, and the imperative duty and necessity of eradicating it. The reasons for postponing the commencement of operations till the close of the rains, unless prematurely brought on by the issue of the Jypoor negotiation, will be obvious, when the time requisite fully to prepare so extensive a plan of military and political movements, and the vast advantage of commencing with the whole of the fair season to look forward to, are taken into consideration. The current of events appeared also to be daily tending to produce a state of public feeling and opinion more and more favourable to our views. The successes against the Pindarees, the increasing alarm and anxiety of Sindheea, the prospect of further improving our connexion with Nâgpoor, and of comprehending Jypoor within the circle of our influence, as well as the time thus given for the newly-formed pacific relations with Nipâl to take effect, all contributed to recommend that government should reserve the execution of its resolve, until the following season. There was every prospect, that the work would then be accomplished in one campaign; and the event has shown that the expectation was just. Wherefore, although the effort for this purpose must necessarily be on the largest and most expensive scale, still the ultimate saving of charge and increase of reputation, from avoiding a warfare pro-

tracted indefinitely from year to year, were objects worth any sacrifice, and only to be ensured by having an entire season to act in, after a due allowance of time for previous preparation.

It will not be necessary to detain the reader, by stating at length the views of the several native princes, in respect to the Pindarees. Their aggressions on ourselves and our allies were more than once brought to the notice of Sindheea, by order of the Supreme Government; and in proportion as we became earnest in representing the evil, this chief redoubled his protestation of hostility to the hordes, while his generals and ministers continued to give them even open encouragement. A commander was at last appointed to conduct an expedition, that was to extirpate the whole race of Pindarees: but, when the army was to be collected, delays and difficulties began to be started in such number, that, in the end, Balajee Ingolia, the officer nominated, never stirred from Gwalior. Some anxiety was shown, when the apprehension of our immediately advancing to the north of the Nerbudda was most lively; and care was taken to have troops in readiness to act according to the course of events. Beyond that point, the activity of this durbar did not reach. But we so far availed ourselves of Sindheea's professions and general policy, as to assume, that we were at perfect liberty to pursue the freebooters beyond his frontier, though it was not thought expedient to define the matter, by desiring any formal recognition of the right.

Holkar's durbar, during the season 1816-17, was agitated by a violent struggle between the party of Ameer Khan, whose agent Ghufoor Khan was at the head of the Patan interest, and had the regular battalions at his beck, and that of the native Mahrattas, who had followed the fortunes of the family, and into whose hands Toolsee Bacc the regent had latterly thrown herself and her ward, the young Mulhar Rao. The former minister, Balaram Set, having been thought to favour the Patan

faction, was arrested and put to death in prison ; and the differences between the two parties went so far, as to produce what was called a battle, though it amounted to no more than a distant cannonade. The season passed without reconciliation or the complete reduction of either party : and Sindheea, who had at one time shown a disposition to interfere, in order to effect an accommodation, refrained in the end, and withdrew the force he had kept in the neighbourhood for the purpose. One consequence of these disturbances was, the release of Kureem Khan, the most noted of the Pindaree leaders, who had hitherto been kept under the appearance of some restraint.

The occurrences at the courts of Poona and Nâgpoor, during the season 1816-17, will be given in the following chapter. The operations against the fort of Hatras in the Dooab, as they had considerable effect in calming the public mind of the native population of our own western provinces, and preparing them for the events that were to follow, will here find its proper place of notice. Soon after the Supreme Government had determined on the suppression of the predatory bands, indeed before the close of the month of December, the continued contumacy of Dya Ram and Bhugwunt Singh, two zemindars of the Dooab, was brought particularly under the notice of Lord Hastings and the council, together with some further recent acts of unprovoked aggression upon peaceable residents within the Agra district. The rank of both these chieftains was that of mere talookdars, or renters of portions of land, but they held very strong forts ; and the government, on its acquisition of the province from Sindheea, the possessions of both lying in the Aleegurh district, behaved towards them with its usual consideration, and, so long as their quota of revenue was regularly paid, a strict conformity with the equalizing laws of our system was not enforced upon them. Presuming upon this moderation, and upon the strength of their fortresses of Hatras and Moorsan, they both levied ar-

bitrary duties, harboured thieves and robbers, and, disregarding the authority of the courts of judicature, which they were bound to respect, sported with the persons and properties of the peaceable and well-disposed in their neighbourhood. At last, the Supreme-Government felt itself called upon to resent this conduct; and it was particularly politic not to pass it over at this time, as a rising of the Patan population of Rohilkhund a few months before, to oppose an usual ordinance for the regulation of the police of cities and towns, showed the minds of the people in this part of our dominions to be very unsettled. That insurrection had, indeed, subsided on the failure of the armed mob to overpower a small party of but three* companies of Sepoys, which had been marched into the city of Bareillec, where the green flag of Mahommed had been hoisted by the malcontents. Still, in the probability of extensive war with the Mahrattas and Patans, necessarily involving the risk of a successful inroad from beyond our frontier, the mischief would be incalculable, if the slightest idea of the internal instability of our power were suffered to go abroad. It was therefore important to strike a blow, that should impress all ranks with a proper estimate of our vigour and military means.

Hatras† was reckoned one of the strongest forts in India. Dya-Ram was a Jât, and derived no small accession of confidence and estimation, from being a relation of the Bhurtpoor Raja, with whom he claimed equality of rank. The fort was kept in the completest state of repair, and every improvement that was

* The exemplary conduct of this detachment and of Captain Boscawen its commander would deserve a much more particular notice, if the plan of this narrative would allow of such a digression. The Rohillas penetrated the square, into which the detachment was compelled to form itself, before the fourth side could be completed by the falling in of the picquets and light infantry. They were literally blown out again by the bold manœuvre of turning one of the guns at the angles inwards, loaded with grape.

† Vide plate at the head of the next chapter.

introduced into our neighbouring fortress of Aleegurh, such as preparing a covered way, raising a glacis, and levelling the height of the ramparts, was carefully copied by this suspicious chief. At the close of 1816, it was resolved to reduce both Dya-Ram and Bhugwunt Singh to the level of subjects, and to employ an overwhelming force for the purpose, as well to bear down all opposition, as to give *eclat* to the measure. The divisions from Cawnpoor, from Meeruth, and from Muttra, were accordingly ordered to concentrate upon Hatras, and place themselves under the immediate command of Major-General Marshall, the commanding officer in the field. On the 11th of February, the place was invested on all sides. Dya-Ram was then summoned to surrender a gate of his fort and allow of its being dismantled. After some evasion on his part, and a negotiation, which lasted till the 16th, he finally refused; when the siege immediately commenced. The Kutra, or fortified town, was breached and evacuated on the 23rd. Approaches were then made to the fort, and batteries erected under a smart, though ineffectual fire from the ramparts. By the first of March, the works of the besiegers were completed, and on the following morning forty-two mortars and three breaching batteries of heavy guns began to play on the fort. Such powerful means had never yet been employed against any fortified place in India. The effect was beyond measure destructive and astonishing to the garrison. The batteries continued to play till the evening, when, at five o'clock*, a magazine disproportionally large blew up within the place, destroying half the garrison and nearly all the buildings. The effect is described to have been awful. Dya-Ram with a few horse made his escape in the dark the same night; and, though challenged and pursued by a picquet of the 8th dragoons, got off with little damage. The rest of the garrison, in attempting

* The other magazine, one of yet larger dimensions, was likewise found penetrated by a shell; but the fuse had dropt out.

to follow, were driven in and obliged to surrender at discretion. Bhugwunt Singh agreed to dismantle his fort on the first summons; and thus was this important object gained, without any sacrifice of lives; the casualties* of the assailants in the siege being too insignificant to mention; while the impression of the utter futility of resistance spread far and wide through Hindoostan, and even through the remote Dukhun, where it materially influenced the subsequent conduct of the Mahratta chiefs and kuladars.

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* Killed—one European, five natives.

CHAPTER IX.

NÂGPOOR—POONA.

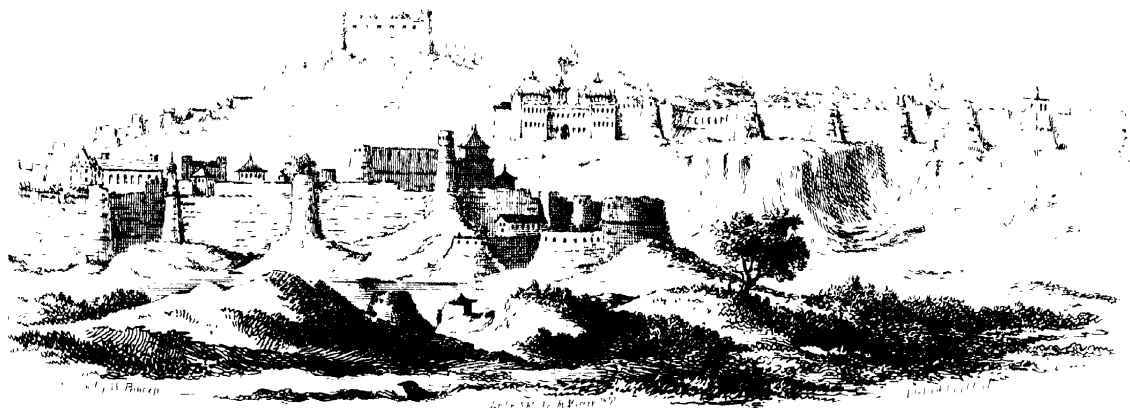
1817. JANUARY TO JUNE.

Nâgpoor—Ram Chundur Wâgh—Sudeek Ulee Khan—Appa Saheb goes to Chanda—intrigues—death of Pursajee—by violent means—accession of Appa Saheb—change of policy—intrigues with Pêshwa—Poona—Pêshwa's duplicity—Trimbukjee levies troops—is covertly supported—Residents proceedings—Discussions with the Durbar—Subsidiary force called down—intercourse suspended—effect—operations against Trimbukjee—their success—Colonel Smith called in to Poona—terms of demand—refused—Poona invested—Bajee Rao submits—Governor-General's instructions—conduct of Pêshwa—New treaty signed—Its conditions—Reflections—Military movements.

EVENTS, that led to very important results, were passing at Nâgpoor and Poona, while the British were engaged with the Pindarees in the manner above described. At the former court, a party had been rapidly rising into favour, which threatened completely to undermine the influence possessed by those of the ministry, who had been instrumental in bringing about the subsidiary alliance with the English. At the head of this party was Ramchundur Wâgh, the commander of Appa Saheb's private troops, before his elevation to the regency; a man who had the character of a daring, deep-designing Mahratta. The Naeab was himself of a restless disposition, and a great lover of intrigue; and it was not long before he showed a decided preference to the counsels most suited to this turn of mind. Instead of giving his attention to the reform of his internal administration, the object which the moderate men endeavoured to press upon him, he greedily listened to schemes for the concentration of all power



HARBIN, CAPITAL OF THE PROVINCE OF HEILONGKIANG



SHAMDA

in his own hands or those of his immediate dependants. Nagoo Punt was of that class ; but Nerayun Pundit was one of the old advisers of Ragoojee ; and having been the immediate instrument, whereby the British alliance had been effected, he was early thought to be too much attached to that nation, and to have its objects more at heart than those of the Bhoosla ~~prince~~. So long, however, as Pursajee lived, and as there was a party in the state possessed of influence not derived from himself, Appa Saheb felt his dependance on his English allies, and did not venture to break finally with Nerayun, who was supposed to enjoy their fullest confidence. A plan was therefore laid to relieve the Naeab from every source of apprehension on this head : and, in the course of January 1817, the following expedients were practised to carry it into effect.

It will be recollected, that Sudeek Ulee Khan had been received into apparent favour by Appa Saheb, instead of being degraded along with Naroba, the late secretary. He had contrived to make his peace through Ramchundur Wagh, but was too independent in power and influence for the reconciliation to be complete. The large assignments of territory he enjoyed were also an object of envy, as well to the prince, as to the favourites by whom he was surrounded. Nagoo Punt and Nerayun were in the mean time, at the Resident's desire, continually urging a reform of the contingent furnished to the British under the treaty. The duty of providing and maintaining the stipulated force out of his assignments had been thrown upon Sudeek Ulee Khan ; and its notorious incompleteness and inefficiency had afforded ground of continual remonstrance. After having for some time seemingly favoured the system as well as the individual, Appa Saheb resolved to avail himself of these complaints for the ruin of Sudeek Ulee ; whilst, by making it appear that the measure was forced upon him by